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# TRADITIONS OF THE TINGUIAN

A STUDY IN PHILIPPINE FOLK-LORE

BY

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The R. F. Cummings Philippine Expedition

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## PREFACE

The following myths were collected by the writer in 1907-8 during a stay of sixteen months with the Tinguian, a pagan tribe of northwestern Luzon in the Philippines. The material, for the most part gathered in texts, was partially translated in the Islands, while the balance was worked over during a brief visit to America in 1909. In this task I was assisted by Dumagat, a full blood Tinguian, who accompanied me.

While not, in all cases, giving a literal rendering, I have endeavored to follow closely the language of the story-tellers rather than to offer a polished translation. In some cases, where it was impossible to record the tales when heard, only the substance was noted, a fact which will account for the meagerness of detail evident in a few of the stories.

The Tinguian tribe numbers about twenty thousand individuals, most of whom are found in the sub-province of Abra, and in the mountains of Ilocos Sur and Norte. Their material culture, beliefs, and ceremonials are quite uniform and exceedingly complex. It is my intention to publish a study of this people in the near future, but realizing that it will be quite impossible for readers unacquainted with Tinguian life to understand many references in the tales, I have added such foot notes as will enable them to grasp the meaning of certain obscure passages.

In the introduction, an attempt has been made to bring together the culture of the people as it appears in the myths, and to contrast it with present day conditions and beliefs. In this way we may hope to gain a clearer insight into their mental life, and to secure a better idea of the values they attach to certain of their activities than is afforded us by actual observation or by direct inquiry. It is also possible that the tales may give us a glimpse of the early conditions under which this people developed, of their life and culture before the advent of the European.

It should be noted at the outset that no attempt is here made to reconstruct an actual historical period. As will appear later, a part of the material is evidently very old; later introductions — to which approximate dates may be assigned — have assumed places of great importance; while the stories doubtless owe much to the creative imaginations of successive story-tellers.

A comparison of these tales with the folk-lore of neighboring tribes



would be of greatest value, but unfortunately very little material for such a study is available. Under the circumstances it has seemed best to defer the attempt and to call attention in the footnotes to striking similarities with other fields.

In the main these tales are so closely associated with the religious beliefs of the present day that it is unlikely they will be found, in anything approaching their present form, outside the districts dominated by this tribe. Nevertheless, isolated incidents corresponding to those of neighboring peoples or even of distant lands occur several times.

Observation has led me to the belief that the religious organization and ceremonies of the Tinguian have reached a higher development than is found among the neighboring tribes, and that this complexity decreases as we penetrate toward the interior or to the south. If this be true, it seems evident that the tales based on or associated with them must likewise grow weaker as we go from Abra.

I wish here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Franz Boas and Dr. Berthold Laufer, whose interest and suggestions have been of greatest value in the preparation of the material for publication; also to express my gratitude to the late Robert F. Cummings, under whose liberal endowment the field work was carried on. His constant interest made possible the gathering of the extensive Philippine collections now in the Museum, and it is a matter of deep regret that he did not live to see all the results of his generosity made available to the reading public.

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CHICAGO, JANUARY, 1915.

# TRADITIONS OF THE TINGUIAN

## A STUDY IN PHILIPPINE FOLK-LORE

### INTRODUCTION

For the purposes of our study, the tales have been roughly divided into three parts. The first, which deals with the mythical period, contains thirty-one tales of similar type in which the characters are for the most part the same, although the last five tales do not properly fit into the cycle, and the concluding story of Indayo is evidently a recent account told in the form of the older relations.

In the second division are the ritualistic and explanatory myths, the object of which seems to be to account for the origin of or way of conducting various ceremonies; for the belief in certain spirits and sacred objects; for the existence of the sun, moon, and other natural phenomena; for the attainment of fire, food plants, birds and domestic animals, as well as of magical jars and beads. Here it should be noted that some of the most common and important beliefs and ceremonies are, so far as is known, unaccompanied by any tales, yet are known to all the population, and are preserved almost without change from generation to generation.

Division three contains the ordinary stories with which parents amuse their children or with which men and women while away the midday hours as they lounge in the field houses, or when they stop on the trail to rest and smoke.

None of the folk-tales are considered as the property of the tellers, but only those of the third division are well known to the people in general. Those of the first section are seldom heard except during the dry season when the people gather around bonfires in various parts of the village. To these go the men and women, the latter to spin cotton, the former to make fish nets or to repair their tools and weapons. In such a gathering there are generally one or more persons who entertain their fellows with these tales. Such a person is not paid for his services, but the fact that he knows "the stories of the first times" makes him a welcome addition to the company and gives him an enviable position in the estimation of his fellows.

The purely ritualistic tales, called *diams*, are learned word by word

by the mediums,<sup>1</sup> as a part of their training for their positions, and are only recited while an animal is being stroked with oil preparatory to its being sacrificed, or when some other gift is about to be presented to the superior beings. The writer has recorded these *diams* from various mediums in widely separated towns and has found them quite uniform in text and content. The explanatory tales were likewise secured from the mediums, or from old men and women who "know the customs." The stories of the last division are the most frequently heard and, as already indicated, are told by all. It is evident even to the casual reader that these show much more evidence of outside influence than do the others; some, indeed, appear to have been recently borrowed from the neighboring christianized Ilocano.<sup>2</sup>

### TALES OF THE MYTHICAL PERIOD

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CULTURE. — In the first division certain actors occur with great frequency, while others always take the leading parts. These latter appear under a variety of names, two or more titles often being used for the same individual in a single tale. To avoid confusion a list of the fourteen principal actors and their relationships are given in the accompanying table. It will appear that there are some conflicts in the use of names, but when it is realized that the first twenty-six myths which make up the cycle proper were secured from six story tellers coming from four different towns, the agreement rather than the disagreement is surprising. As a matter of fact there is quite as much variation between the accounts of the same narrator as between those gathered from different towns.

#### TABLE OF LEADING CHARACTERS<sup>3</sup>

I. Aponitolau. Son of Pagatipánan ♂<sup>4</sup> and Langa-an ♀<sup>4</sup> of Kada-layapan; is the husband of Aponibolinayen. Appears under the

<sup>1</sup> Men or women through whom the superior beings talk to mortals. During ceremonies the spirits possess their bodies and govern their language and actions. When not engaged in their calling, the mediums take part in the daily activities of the village.

<sup>2</sup> See page 29.

<sup>3</sup> The initial portion of some of these names is derived from the respectful term *apo*—"sir," and the attributive copulate *ni*; thus the original form of Aponitolau probably was Apo ni Tolau, literally "Sir, who is Tolau." However, the story-tellers do not now appear to divide the names into their component parts, and they frequently corrected the writer when he did so; for this reason such names appear in the text as single words. Following this explanation it is possible that the name Aponibolinayen may be derived from Apo ni bolan yan, literally "Sir (mistress) who is place where the moon"; but *bolan* generally refers to the space of time between the phases of the moon rather than to the moon itself. The proper term for moon is *sīnag*, which we have seen is the mother of Gaygayóma—a star,— and is clearly differentiated from Aponibolinayen.

<sup>4</sup> ♂—male. ♀—female.

- following names: (a) Ligī, (b) Albaga of Dalaga, (c) Dagdagalisit, (d) Ingiwan or Kagkagákag, (e) Ini-init, (f) Ling-gīwan, (g) Kadayadawan, (h) Wadagan, (i) Awig (?)
- II. Aponīgawani. Sister of Aponitolau and wife of Aponibalagen.
  - III. Aponibolinayen. Daughter of Pagbokásan<sup>1</sup> ♂ and Ebang ♀ of Kaodanan. Wife of Aponitolau.  
Appears as (a) Ayo, (b) Dolimáman (?).
  - IV. Aponibalagen. Brother of Aponibolinayen, and husband of Aponīgawani; also appears as Awig.
  - V. Kanag. Son of Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen. Appears as (a) Kanag kabagbagōwan, (b) Balokanag, (c) Dumanau, (d) Ilwisan, (e) also at times is identified with Dumalawī, his brother.
  - VI. Dapilisan, wife of Kanag.
  - VII. Dagoláyan. Son of Aponibalagen and Aponīgawani. Also appears as Dondonyán of Bagonan — the blood clot child.
  - VIII. Alokotán. An old woman who acts as a medium. Her home is at Nagbotobotán, where the rivers empty their waters into the hole at the edge of the world.
  - IX. Gawigawen ♂. A giant who owns the orange trees of Adasin.
  - X. Gīambōlan ♂. A ten-headed giant.
  - XI. Gaygayóma. A star maiden who marries Aponitolau. The daughter of Bagbagak ♂, a big star,— and Sinag ♀, the moon—.
  - XII. Tabyayen. Son of Aponitolau and Gaygayóma. Half brother of Kanag.
  - XIII. Kabkabaga-an. A powerful female spirit who falls in love with Aponitolau.
  - XIV. Asibowan. The maiden of GEGENÁWAN, who is related to the spirit Kabonīyan. The mistress of Aponitolau.

In consequence of modern rationalism there is a tendency on the part of a considerable number of the Tinguian to consider these tales purely as stories and the characters as fictitious, but the mass of the people hold them to be true and speak of the actors as “the people who lived in the first times.” For the present we shall take their point of view and shall try to reconstruct the life in “the first times” as it appears in the tales.

The principal actors live in Kadalayapan and Kaodanan,<sup>2</sup> towns which our chief story teller — when trying to explain the desire of Kanag to go down and get fruit — assures us were somewhere in the air,

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the storytellers become confused and give Pagbokásan as the father of Aponitolau.

<sup>2</sup> The town of Natpangán is several times mentioned as though it was the same as Kaodanan.

above the earth (p. 141).<sup>1</sup> At other times these places are referred to as Sudipan — the term by which spirits are supposed to call the present earth — while the actors are referred to as Īpogau — the spirit name for Tinguian. Whatever its location it was a place much like the present home of this people. The sky, the chief abode of spirits and celestial bodies, was above the land, and the heroes of the tales are pictured as ascending to visit the upper realms. The trees, plants, and animals were for the most part those known to-day. The ocean appears to have been well known, while mention is made of some places in Luzon, such as Dagopan and San Fernando in Pangasinan with which the people of to-day are not at all familiar (p. 89, 168).

We learn that each village is situated near to a river or waterway by the banks of which shallow wells are dug, and there we find the women gathering under the shade of the trees, dipping up water to be carried to their homes, washing and combing their hair, and taking their baths (p. 48). They seldom go singly, for enemies are apt to be near, and unless several are in the company it will be impossible to spread the alarm and secure help in case of attack (p. 43).

Leading up from the spring to the village are bamboo poles on which the heads of enemies are displayed (p. 43). In cases where the warriors have been especially successful these trophies may surround the whole settlement (p. 76). About the town is a defensive wall, generally of bamboo, but in some cases made up entirely of gigantic snakes (p. 43). Within this inclosure are many houses. The bamboo floors are raised high above the ground, while the thatching is of grass. Ladders lead up to little porches, from which doors open into the dwellings. At least part of the houses have a cooking room in addition to that used by the family, while structures containing a ninth room are several times mentioned (pp. 43, 52, 85).

In one corner of the living room is a box containing blankets, above which are pillows and mats used by members of the household and guests; an iron caldron lies on the floor, while numerous Chinese jars stand about. A hearth, made up of a bed of ashes in which stones are sunk, is used for cooking. Above it is a bamboo food hanger, while near by stand jars of water and various cooking pots. Food baskets, coconut shell cups, and dishes, and a quantity of Chinese plates appear when the meal is served, while the use of glass is not unknown. Cups of gold, wonderful jars, and plates appear at times, but seem to be so rare as to excite comment (pp. 33, 98, 102, 105).

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<sup>1</sup>Only the most important references found in the texts are given here. For a fuller list see the index.

Scattered through the village are numerous small buildings known as *balana* (p. 43), which are erected for the spirits during the greatest of the ceremonies, and still inside the enclosure are the rice drying plots and granaries, the latter raised high above the ground so as to protect their contents from moisture (pp. 150).

About the town pigs and chickens roam at will, while half-starved hunting dogs prowls about below the kitchens and fight for morsels which drop from above (p. 99). Carabao are kept and used as food (p. 101), but in the cycle proper no mention is made of using them as work animals.<sup>1</sup> Game, especially deer and wild chickens, and fish are added to the domestic supply of food (p. 80), but the staple appears to be mountain rice. Beans, coconuts, oranges, sugar cane, betel-nuts, and tobacco are also cultivated (pp. 33, 107, 121, 138).

Clothing is scanty but nevertheless receives much attention. The poorest of the men wear clouts of banana leaf, and the women, when in danger of capture, don skirts of bark; but on most occasions we find the man wearing a colored cotton clout, above which is a bright belt of the same material, while for ceremonies he may add a short coat or jacket. A headband, sometimes of gold, keeps his long hair in place, and for very special events he may adorn each hair with a golden bead (pp. 74, 76, 81).

The cotton skirts of the women reach from the waist to the knees; the arms are covered with strands above strands of beads, while strings of agate beads surround the neck or help to hold the hair in place. To the real hair is often added a switch which appears to be valued highly (p. 89). Ornaments of gold adorn the ears, and finger rings of the same metal are several times mentioned (pp. 39, 43, 124).

The tales afford us a glimpse of the daily life. In the early morning the chilly mountain air drives the people from their mats to the yard, where they squat about the fires (p. 132). As it becomes light, part of the women begin pounding out the rice from its straw and husks (p. 144), while others depart for the springs to secure water (p. 101). In planting time husband and wife trudge together to the fields, where the man plants the seeds or cuttings, and his wife assists by pouring on water (p. 107). In midday, unless it is the busy season, the village activities are practically suspended, and we see the *balana* filled with men, asleep or lounging, while children may be playing about with tops or disk-like *lipi* seeds (p. 139). As it becomes cooler, the town again takes on life; in the houses the women weave blankets or prepare food, the older women

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<sup>1</sup> The only possible exception to this statement is the mention of a carabao sled on p. 150, and of Aponitola and Aponibolinayen riding on a carabao p. 51.

feed the chickens and pigs (p. 93), while the workers from the fields, or hunters with their dogs and game, add to the general din and excitement (p. 80). When night comes on, if it be in the dry season, bonfires spring up in different parts of the village, and about them the girls and women gather to spin. Here also come the men and boys, to lounge and talk (p. 117). A considerable portion of the man's time is taken up in preparation for or actual participation in warfare (p. 74). We have already seen that the constant danger of enemies makes it advisable for the women to go in parties, even to the village spring. One tale informs us of a girl who is left alone to guard the rice field and is promptly killed by the *alzado*;<sup>1</sup> another states that "all the tattooed Igorot are enemies" (pp. 43, 155, 161).

Revenge for the loss of relations or townspeople is a potent cause of hostile raids; old feuds may be revived by taunts; but the chief incentive appears to be the desire for renown, to be known as "a man who goes to fight in the enemies' towns" (pp. 90, 59).

Warriors sometimes go in parties, sometimes alone, but generally in couples (p. 67). At times they lie in ambush and kill young girls who go for water, or old men and women who pass their hiding place (p. 97). Again they go out boldly, armed with shield, spear, and headaxe; they strike their shields as they go and announce their presence to the enemy (p. 103). In five of the tales the heroes challenge their opponents and then refuse to be the first to use their weapons. It is only when their foes have tried in vain to injure them that they enter the conflict. In such cases whole towns are wiped out of existence and a great number of heads and a quantity of jars and other booty is sent back to the towns of the victors (p. 104). Peace is restored in one instance by the payment of a number of valuable jars (p. 91).

Upon the return of a successful war party, the relatives meet them at the gate of the town and compel them to climb the *sangap*;<sup>2</sup> then invitations are sent out to friends and relatives in neighboring towns to come and aid in the celebration of the victory (p. 140). When they arrive at the entrance of the village they are met by the townspeople, who offer them liquor and then conduct them to the houses where they feast and dance to the music of *gansas* (p. 126).<sup>3</sup> Finally the captured heads are stuck on the *sagang*<sup>4</sup> and are placed by the gate, the spring, and, if suffi-

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<sup>1</sup> A term applied to any of the wilder head-hunting tribes.

<sup>2</sup> Ladders are placed on each side of the town gate and are inclined toward one another until they meet at the top. Returning warriors enter the village by climbing up the one and descending the other, never through the gate.

<sup>3</sup> Copper gongs.

<sup>4</sup> Sharpened bamboo poles which pass through the foramen magnum.

cient in number, surround the town (p. 140). Taking the heads of one's neighbors does not appear to be common, yet cases are mentioned where visitors are treacherously killed at a dance (pp. 78, 83).

The use of poison<sup>1</sup> is twice mentioned. In one case the victims are killed by drinking liquor furnished by the father of the girl about whose head they are dancing (pp. 148, 156).

Bamboo spears appear to be used, but we are explicitly told that they fought with steel weapons, and there are frequent references to head-axes, spears, and knives (pp. 65, 76, 120).

Marriage appears generally to be negotiated by the mother of the youth at his suggestion (p. 128). At times both his parents go to the girl's home, and after many preliminaries broach the subject of their mission (p. 128). The girl's people discuss the proposition, and if they are favorable they set a day for the *pakálon* — a celebration at which the price to be paid for the bride is decided upon (p. 49). The parents of the groom then return home after having left some small present, such as a jar or an agate bead, as a sign of engagement (p. 128).<sup>2</sup> The *pakálon* is held a few days later at the girl's home, and for this event her people prepare a quantity of food (p. 72). On the agreed day the close friends and relatives of both families will assemble. Those who accompany the groom carry jars and pigs, either in part payment for the bride, or to serve as food for the company (pp. 72, 128). The first hours are spent in bargaining over the price the girl should bring, but when this is settled a feast is prepared, and then all indulge in dancing the *tadek* (p. 59).<sup>3</sup> When the payment is made a portion is distributed among the girl's relatives (pp. 72, 74), but her parents retain the greater part for themselves.<sup>4</sup> The groom cannot yet claim his bride, although in one case he is allowed to take her immediately after the *pakálon* by making a special payment for the privilege (p. 74). A few nights later the groom goes to the girl's home carrying with him an empty jar with which he makes the final payment (p. 73). The customary rice ceremony<sup>5</sup> follows and he is then entitled to his bride

<sup>1</sup> This poison is placed in the food or drink. The use of poisoned darts or arrows seems never to have been known to this people.

<sup>2</sup> A similar custom is found among the Kayan of Borneo. See HOSE and McDOUGALL, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 171 (London, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> In this dance a man and a woman enter the circle, each holding a cloth. Keeping time to the music, they approach each other with almost imperceptible movements of feet and toes, and a bending at the knees, meanwhile changing the position of the cloths. This is varied from time to time by a few quick, high steps. For fuller description see article by author in *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1908, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> The custom was formerly practised by the Ilocano. See REYES, *Folklore Filipino*, p. 126 (Manila, 1899).

<sup>5</sup> See *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1908, pp. 206, ff.



(p. 73). Should the house or anything in it break at this time, it foretells misfortune for the couple, hence precautions are taken lest such a sign should, by accident, be given (p. 60).

In all but two cases mentioned the girl and her husband go to live with his people. In the first instance their failure to do so raises a protest; in the second, the girl's parents are of much more importance than those of the groom, and this may explain their ability to retain their daughter (pp. 138, 159).

When the bride reaches her future home, she sits on the bamboo floor with her legs stretched out in front of her. The slats which she covers are counted and a string of agate beads, equal in length to the combined width of the slats, is given to her. She now becomes a full member of the family and seems to be under the orders of her mother-in-law (p. 60).

The tales give constant sanction for the marriage of near relatives. Dumanau, we are told, marries his cousin,<sup>1</sup> while we frequently meet with such statements as, "We are relatives and it is good for us to be married," or "They saw that they were related and that both possessed magical power, so they were married (p. 35)." It appears that a man may live with his sweetheart and have children by her, yet leave her, and, without reproach, marry another better fitted to be his wife (p. 54). He may also accept payment for a wife who has deserted him, apparently without loss of prestige (p. 64). No objection seems to be raised to a man having two wives so long as one of these is an inhabitant of the upper world (p. 111), but we find Kanag telling his former sweetheart that he cannot marry her since he is now married to another (p. 138). Again, when two women lay claim to Aponitolau, as their husband, they undergo a test and the loser returns to her former home (p. 94). However, this rule does not prevent a man from having several concubines (p. 120). Gawigawen, we are told, is accompanied to a *pakálon* by eighteen young girls who are his concubines (p. 59).

Divorce is twice mentioned, but it seems to call out protest only from the cast off wife (pp. 63, 149).

Closely associated with the celebration of a marriage seems to be a ceremony known as *Sayang*, during the progress of which a number of small structures — the largest known as *balaua* — are built. Judging by their names and descriptions, we are justified in considering them "spirit houses" as they are to-day.

The details of the extended *Sayang* ceremony are nowhere given, but so much is made plain:— At its beginning many people pound rice, for

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<sup>1</sup> The Tinguian do not have a classificatory system of relationship terms. The term *kasinsin* is applied alike to the children of mother's and father's brothers and sisters.

use in the offerings and for food, and *da-eng*<sup>1</sup> is danced (p. 40). After the *Libon*<sup>2</sup> invitations are sent out, by means of betel-nuts covered with gold, to those whose presence is especially desired (p. 62). When the guests arrive at the village spring or gate they are offered food or drink, and then while they dance they are sprinkled with water or rice, after which all go up to the town (p. 41 note 2). A medium who knows the customs and desires of the spirits constructs a bamboo mat, which is known as *talapitap*, and on it offers food. To call their attention she frequently strikes the ground with the *dakidak* — split sticks of bamboo and *lono*<sup>3</sup> (p. 40). The guests are not neglected, so far as regards food, for feasting and dancing occupy a considerable portion of their time. The ceremonial dance *da-eng*<sup>1</sup> is mentioned, but the *tadek*<sup>4</sup> seems to be the one in special favor (pp. 41, 59).

One tale tells us that the *Sayang* was held immediately following a head hunt; and another, that Aponitolau went out to get the head of an old man before he started this ceremony (pp. 69, 76); however, the evidence is by no means conclusive that it is related to warfare.

On page 105 we are told that Kanag's half sister is a medium, and the description of her method of summoning the spirits tallies with that of to-day. At the *Sayang* ceremony she is called to perform the *Dawak*,<sup>5</sup> with the assistance of the old woman Alokotán (p. 106). The *Dawak* is also held in order to stop the flow of blood from Aponitolau's finger (p. 113). The only other ceremony mentioned is that made in order to find a lost switch (p. 91).

Certain well-known customs are strongly brought out in our material. The first, and apparently most important, is the necessity of offering liquor and food, both to strangers and to guests (p. 58). Refusal is so keenly resented that in one instance a couple decline to allow their daughter to marry a man whose emissaries reject this gift (p. 73). Old quarrels are closed by the tender of food or drink, and friendships are cemented by the drinking of *basi*<sup>6</sup> (p. 134). People meeting for the first time, and even friends who have been separated for a while, chew betel-nut together and tell their names and places of residence. We are repeatedly told that it is necessary to chew the nut and make known their

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<sup>1</sup> A sacred dance in which a number of men and women take part. It takes place only at night and is accompanied by the singing of the participants.

<sup>2</sup> The night preceding the greatest day of the *Sayang* ceremony.

<sup>3</sup> Runo, a reed.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 11, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> A short ceremony held for the cure of fever and minor ills. It also forms a part of the more extensive rites.

<sup>6</sup> A sugar-cane rum.

names, for "we cannot tell our names unless we chew," and "it is bad for us if we do not know each other's names when we talk." A certain etiquette is followed at this time: old men precede the younger; people of the home town, the visitors; and men always are before the women (pp. 45, 133). The conduct of Awig when he serves liquor to the *alzados*<sup>1</sup> is that of to-day, i.e., the person who serves always drinks before passing it to others (p. 156).

Certain other rules of etiquette or restrictions on conduct come out in the tales. We learn that it is not considered proper for a man to eat with the wife of another during his absence, nor should they start the meal before he comes in (p. 52). The master of a dance is deeply chagrined and chides his wife severely, because she insists on dancing before he has invited all the others to take their turns (p. 70). Greediness is reproved in children and Aponitolau causes the death of his concubines whose false tales had led him to maltreat his wife (p. 116). Unfaithfulness seems to be sufficient justification for a man to abandon his wife and kill her admirer (p. 78); but Kanag appears as a hero when he refuses to attack his father who has sought his life (p. 121).

Of the ceremonies connected with death we learn very little except that the women discard their arm beads, the mourners don old clothing, and all wail for the dead (pp. 44, 90). Three times we are told that the deceased is placed on a *tabalang*, or raft, on which a live rooster is fastened before it is set adrift on the river. In the tales the raft and fowl are of gold, but this is surprising even to the old woman Alokotán, past whose home in Nagbotobotán all these rafts must go (p. 131).

Up to this time in our reconstruction of the life of "the first times" we have mentioned nothing impossible or improbable to the present day Tinguian, although, as we shall see later, there are some striking differences in customs and ideas. We have purposely left the description of the people and their practice of magic to the last, although their magical practices invade every activity of their lives, for it is here that the greatest variations from present conditions apparently occur.

These people had intimate relations with some of the lesser spirits, especially with the *liblibayan*,<sup>2</sup> who appear to be little more than their servants, with the evil spirits known as *banbanáyo*,<sup>2</sup> and with the *alan*<sup>2</sup> (p. 123). The *alan*, just mentioned, are to-day considered as deformed spirits who live in the forests: "They are as large as people but have wings and can fly; their toes are at the back of their feet and their fingers point backwards from their wrists." The several references to them in

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lesser spirits.

the tales such as "you *alan* girls whose toes on your feet turn out" indicate they were so considered in the first times (p. 161). Some of them are addressed as "you *alan* of the springs," and in one instance a man dives down into the water where the *alan* live (p. 148), but in general their homes seem to be similar to but much finer than those of the people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan. These spirits appear time after time as the foster mothers of the leading characters: Generally they secure a drop of menstrual blood, a miscarriage, or the afterbirth, and all unknown to the real parents, change them into children and raise them (p. 83). These foster children are pictured as living in houses of gold situated near springs, the pebbles of which are of gold or beads;<sup>1</sup> the places where the women set the pots while dipping water are big plates or dishes, while similar dishes form the stepping stones leading up to the house. Articles of gold are found in the dwellings and valuable jars are numerous. When the true relationships of these children are established they always go to their blood parents, carrying with them these riches, which are a source of wonder and comment (pp. 43, 64).

The people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan have many dealings with the celestial bodies. The big star Bagbagak appears as the husband of Sinag — the moon — and father of the star maiden Gaygayóma, who, Aponitolau assures his wife, is a spirit. When this girl comes down to steal sugar-cane she takes off her star dress and appears as a beautiful maiden;<sup>2</sup> she becomes enamored with Aponitolau and takes him to the sky, where he lives with her. They have a child, who later marries in Kadalayapan and thereafter stays below. Upon the occasion when Aponitolau visits his first wife and fails to return to the sky at the appointed time, a great company of stars are sent to fetch him, with orders to devour him if he refuses to obey (p. 109, ff.).

In the first tale Aponitolau himself appears as "the sun," "the man who makes the sun," as "a round stone which rolls," but when it is established that he is the son of a couple in Kadalayapan he apparently relinquishes his duties in the sky and goes to live in the village of his people. With him goes his wife Aponibolinayen, who had been carried above by a vine. While at his post in the heavens, Aponitolau is closely associated with the big star, whose duty it is to follow him in the sky. Again we are told that Aponitolau is taken up by the spirit Kabkabagan, whom he marries and by whom he has a son (p. 114). In some in-

<sup>1</sup> Like ideas occur in the folktales of British North Borneo. See EVANS, *Journal Royal Anthro. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 444.

<sup>2</sup> In various guises the same conception is found in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Malaysia. See COX, *An Introduction to Folklore*, p. 121 (London, 1904). — In an Igorot tale the owner captures and marries the star maiden, who is stealing his rice. SEIDENADEL, *The Language of the Bontoc Igorot*, p. 491 ff. (Chicago, 1909).

stances this hero and his son Kanag converse with thunder and lightning, which appear at times not unlike human beings (p. 100); but in the eighth relation the two kinds of lightning are pictured as dogs who guard the town of Dona.

These people enjoy unusual relations with inanimate things, and we find them conversing with spears and with jars.<sup>1</sup> In one case the latter appear to be pastured like animals, and surround Aponitolau when he goes to feed them with *lawed*<sup>2</sup> leaves and salt (p. 51). Weapons weep blood and oil when taken down for the purpose of injuring certain persons (p. 43). A nose flute, when played by a youth, tells him of his mother's plight (p. 152), while a bamboo Jew's harp summons the brothers of its owner (p. 162). Animals and birds are frequently in communication with them: The hawk flies away and spreads the news of the fight at Adasin<sup>3</sup> (p. 90); at the bidding of Dalonagan a spider spins a web about the town (p. 124); and Aponitolau is enabled to fulfill the labors assigned him by the ten-headed giant only through the aid of spiders, ants, and flies (p. 101).<sup>4</sup> During certain dances the water from the river flows over the town and fish come up and bite the feet of the dancers (p. 59). Crocodiles are left to guard the sister of Aponibalagen, and when they fail to explain their negligence they are whipped and sent away by their master (p. 87). A great bird is pleased with Aponitolau and carries him away<sup>5</sup> to its home, where it forces him to marry a woman it had previously captured (p. 92). In one instance an animal gives birth to a human child; a frog laps up the spittle of Aponitolau, and as a result becomes pregnant<sup>6</sup> and gives birth to a maiden who is taken away by the spirits (p. 105). Another account states that the three sons of Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen are born as pigs, but later assume human form (p. 116). Kanag becomes a snake when he tries to secure the perfume of Baliwán, but is restored to human form when he

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<sup>1</sup> The Dusun of Borneo have tales of talking jars. EVANS, *Journal Royal Anthro. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, pp. 426-427. See also COLE and LAUFER, *Chinese Pottery in the Philippines (Pub. Field Museum of Nat. Hist.*, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 11 ff., 1912).

<sup>2</sup> *Piper sp.*

<sup>3</sup> Bagobo tales relate that in the beginning plants, animals, and rocks could talk with mortals. See BENEDICT, *Journal American Folklore*, Vol. XXVI, 1913, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Tales of animals who assist mortals are found in all lands; perhaps the best known to European readers is that of the ants which sorted the grain for Cinderella. See also EVANS, *Jour. Royal Anthro. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 467, for Borneo; TAWNEY's *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, pp. 361 ff., Calcutta, 1880, for India.

<sup>5</sup> Fabulous birds of gigantic size, often known under the Indian term *garuda*, play an important part in the beliefs of the Peninsular Malays.

<sup>6</sup> A similar incident is cited by BEZEMER (*Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*). See also the Bagobo tale of the Kingfisher (BENEDICT, *Jour. American Folklore*, Vol. XXVI, 1913, p. 53).

bathes in a magic well (p. 137). These and other mysterious happenings, many of which are not explained as being due to their own volition, befall them; thus Ingiwan, while walking, is confronted by an impassable hill and is compelled to cross the ocean, where he finds his future wife, but upon his return the hill has vanished (p. 86). In other instances the finger rings of people meeting for the first time exchange themselves (p. 92). The headband of Ligī flies away without his knowledge and alights on the skirt of a girl who is bathing in the river. As a result she becomes pregnant, and when the facts become known Ligī is recognized as the child's father (p. 144). It seems probable that the superior powers are responsible for these occurrences, for in at least one instance the great spirit Kabonīyan steals a maiden and turns her into a flock of birds, who talk with and assist the owner of a rice field (p. 151).

While they thus appear to be to a certain extent under the control of the spirits and to be surrounded by animals and inanimate things with human intelligence and speech, the people of these "first times" possess great power over nature: Time and space are annihilated, for at their will daylight comes at once (p. 150), or they are transported to a place in an instant (p. 92). At their command people appear: Kanag creates betel-nut trees, then cuts the fruit into bits, which he sows on the ground. From these come many people who are his neighbors, and one of whom he marries (p. 121). The course of nature is changed: A field is planted in an instant; the crops mature in a few days, and the grain and fruits take themselves to the store-house (p. 150). A strike-a-light turns into a hill which impedes pursuers<sup>1</sup> (p. 75), while a belt or head-axe serves as a ferry across a body of water (p. 84). A storm is called upon to carry a person or a building to a distance (p. 121), and a spring is created by killing an old man (p. 60).<sup>2</sup> Prepared food appears at a word; a stick when cooked becomes a fish, and though it is repeatedly broken and served it always appears ready for service at meal time (p. 33); a small jar containing a single grain of rice supplies an abundance of food; another jar no larger than a fist furnishes drink for a company and still remains a third full; while a single earring fills a pot with gold<sup>3</sup> (pp. 47, 119, 123).

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<sup>1</sup> The magic flight has been encountered in the most widely separated parts of the globe, as, for instance, India and America. See TAWNEY, *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, pp. 361, 367 ff. and notes, (Calcutta, 1880); WATERMAN, *Jour. American Folklore*, Vol. XXVII, 1914, p. 46; REINHOLD KÖHLER, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, pp. 171, 388.

<sup>2</sup> In the Dayak legend of Limbang, a tree springs from the head of a dead giant; its flowers turn to beads; its leaves to cloth; the ripe fruit to jars. See H. LING ROTH, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> Similar incidents are to be found among the Ilocano and Igorot; in Borneo; in Java and India. See REYES, *Folklore Filipino*, p. 34, (Manila, 1889); JENKS, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 202, (Manila, 1905); SEIDENADEL, *The Language of the Bontoc*

Quite as easy as the creation of beings is the causing of sleep or death. All the people of a village are put to sleep at the will of a single person (p. 145) and Albaga — while still at a distance — causes the death of Aponibolinayen (p. 44). At a word of command the spears and head-axes of the people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan go out and kill great numbers of the enemy, and the heads and booty take themselves in orderly fashion to towns of their new owners (pp. 66, 75). Many methods of restoring the dead to life are employed; spittle is applied to the wounds, or the victim is placed in a magic well, but the common method is for the hero "to whip his perfume,"<sup>1</sup> whereupon the dead follow his commands (pp. 152, 157).

The birth of a child, to a woman of these times, is generally preceded by an intense itching between the third and last fingers, and when this spot is pricked the child pops out "like popped rice."<sup>2</sup> Its growth is always magical, for at each bath its stature increases by a span (p. 102). Within a few days the baby is a large child and then begins deeds of valor worthy of the most renowned warriors (pp. 95, 96).

The power of assuming animal forms appears to be a common possession, and we find the different characters changing themselves into fire-flies, ants, centipedes, omen birds, and in one case into oil<sup>3</sup> (pp. 85, 99).

One of the most peculiar yet constantly used powers of these people is their ability to send betel-nuts on various missions. Whenever an invitation to a ceremony or celebration is to be extended, nuts covered

Igorot, p. 491, 541, ff. (Chicago, 1909); EVANS, *Journal Royal Anthro. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 462; LING ROTH, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, p. 319; TAWNEY, *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, Vol. II, p. 3, (Calcutta, 1880); BEZEMER, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 49, (Haag, 1904).

<sup>1</sup> This peculiar expression while frequently used is not fully understood by the story tellers who in place of the word "whip" occasionally use "make." In one text which describes the *Sayang* ceremony, I find the following sentence, which may help us to understand the foregoing: "We go to make perfume at the edge of the town, and the things which we take, which are our perfume, are the leaves of trees and some others; it is the perfume for the people, which we give to them, which we go to break off the trees at the edge of the town." Again in tale 20, Kanag breaks the perfume of Baliwán off a tree.—The use of sweetly scented oil, in raising the dead, is found in Dayak legends. See LING ROTH, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> According to a Jakun legend, the first children were produced out of the calves of their mothers' legs. SKEAT and BLAGDEN, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. II, p. 185.—A creation tale from Mangaia relates that the boy Rongo came from a boil on his mother's arm when it was pressed. GILL, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 10 (London, 1876).

<sup>3</sup> This power of transforming themselves into animals and the like is a common possession among the heroes of Dayak and Malay tales. See LING ROTH, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, p. 312; PERHAM, *Journal Straits Branch R.*, *Asiatic Society*, No. 16, 1886; WILKINSON, *Malay Beliefs*, pp. 32, 59 (London, 1906).

with gold are oiled and sent out. They go to the intended guest, state their errand, and, if refused, forthwith proceed to grow on his knee, forehead, or pet pig, until pain or pity compels him to accept (p. 146). In some cases it appears that the nuts themselves possess the magic properties, for we find Aponitolau demanding that his conquered foes give him their betel-nuts with magic power (p. 91).

Relationships can be readily ascertained by the chewing of these nuts, for when the quids are laid down they are transformed into agate and golden beads and lie in such a manner that the associations are fully established (pp. 35, 36, 41).

Enough has been mentioned to show how important a part magic and magical practices play in the life of this people, but one further reference should be made, since it is found in nearly every tale. When the marriage price is settled upon, the mother of the groom exercises her power and at once fills the spirit house with valuable jars and the like; this is repeated until enough are gathered to meet the demands of the girl's people (p. 133). Even when the agreed sum has been delivered we often find the girl's mother herself practicing magic, to secure additional payment, and by raising her elbows or eyebrows causing a part of the jars to vanish (pp. 133, 143).

Despite their great gifts we find that these people are not all-powerful and that they deem it wise to consult the omens before starting on a task or a journey. The gall sack and liver of a pig are eagerly examined,<sup>1</sup> while the calls of birds, actions of animals, or signs received from the thunder and lightning regulate their conduct. In cases where these warnings are disregarded misfortune or death always overtakes the individual (pp. 48, 49, 100 ff).

Death comes to them, but apparently is only a temporary state. The deceased are often revived by some magical process (p. 152), but if not the corpse is placed on a raft and is set adrift on the river.<sup>2</sup> The streams and rivers, we are told, all flow past Nagbotobotán before they empty into the hole where all streams go. In this place lives the old woman Alokotán, who is related to the people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan. Her duty it is to watch for dead relatives, to secure them, and make them alive again (p. 132). She is the owner of a magic pool, the waters of which revive the dead and renew youth.

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<sup>1</sup> The present day Tinguian attach much importance to these omens. The gall and liver of the slaughtered animal are carefully examined. If the fluid in the gall sack is exceedingly bitter, the inquirer is certain to be successful; if it is mild he had best defer his project. Certain lines and spots found on the liver foretell disaster, while a normal organ assures success. See also HOSE and McDOUGALL, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 24, note 1.



COMPARISON OF THE RECONSTRUCTED CULTURE WITH PRESENT DAY CONDITIONS.— Before passing to a consideration of the tales in the last two divisions of our material, it may be well to compare the life and beliefs of these “people of the first times” with those of the living Tinguian. Kadalayapan and Kaodanan appear, in a vague way, to have been located in Abra, for we learn that the Ilocano, Don Carlos, went up the river from Baygan (Vigan)<sup>1</sup> to Kadalayapan; that the *alzados*<sup>2</sup> lived near by; while the tattooed Igorot occupied the land to the south (pp. 77, 155). The villages were surrounded by defensive walls such as were to be found about all Tinguian villages until recent times, and which are still to be seen about Abang and other settlements. Within the walls were many houses, the descriptions of most of which would fit the dwellings of to day. The one thing which seems foreign to present conditions is the so-called “ninth room” which receives rather frequent mention. There is nothing in the tales referring to buildings or house construction which lends support to the contention of those who seek to class the Tinguian as a modified sub-group of Igorot.<sup>3</sup> The Bontoc type of dwelling with its ground floor sleeping box and its elevated one room kitchen and storage room is nowhere mentioned, neither is there any indication that in past or present times the Tinguian had separate sleeping houses for the unmarried men and boys, and for the girls, as do their neighbors to the south.

The other structures, such as the spirit houses, rice drying frames, and granaries were similar to those seen to-day in all the villages. Likewise the house furnishings, the musical instruments, and even the games of the children were such as are to be found at present, while our picture of the village life given on page 9 still fits nearly any Tinguian settlement in Abra. The animals mentioned are all familiar to the present people, but it is worthy of note that in the first twenty-six tales, which make up the cycle proper, the horse is not mentioned, nor does the carabao appear to be used as a work animal. Still more important is the fact that the terraced fields and the rice culture accompanying them, which to-day occupy a predominant place in the economic life of the people, are nowhere mentioned. On the other hand, the *langpádan*, or mountain rice, assumes a place of great importance. References to the cultivation of the land all seem to indicate that the “hoe culture,” which is still practiced to a limited extent, took the place of agriculture.

The clothing, hair dressing, and ornaments, worn by these people, agree closely with those of to-day. Beads seems to have been of prime

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<sup>1</sup> The present capital of Ilocos Sur.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> BARROWS, Census of the Philippine Islands, Vol. I, pp. 456 ff., 1903.

importance, but could scarcely have been more prized or more used than at present. Unless she be in mourning, the hair and neck of each woman are now ornamented with strings of beads, many of them of evident antiquity, while strands above strands cover the arms from the wrist to the elbow or even reach to the shoulder.<sup>1</sup>

The wealth of a person seems to have been, to a large extent, determined by the number of old jars in his possession. As at the present time, they formed the basis of settlement for feuds, as payment for a bride, and even figured in the marriage ceremony itself. The jars, as judged from their names, were evidently of ancient Chinese manufacture, and possessed power of speech and motion similar to that of human beings; but in a lesser measure the same type of jars have similar powers to-day.<sup>2</sup>

The use of gold and jewels seems to have been common in the old times; the latter are seldom seen in the district to-day, but the use of bits of gold in the various ceremonies is still common, while earrings of gold or copper are among the most prized possessions of the women.<sup>3</sup> Placer mining is well known to the Igorot of the south, who melt and cast the metal into various ornaments. So far as I am aware, this is not practiced by the present Tinguian, but may point back to a time when the industry was known in this region, or when trade relations with the south were much freer than in recent years.

The weapons of the warriors, which we are specifically told were of metal, are identical with those seen at the present time, while the methods of warfare agree with the accounts still told by the old men of their youthful exploits.

A survey of the tales brings out boldly the fact that a headhunt was one of the most important events in Tinguian life. To-day stress of circumstances has caused the custom to suffer a rapid decline, but even now heads are occasionally taken, while most of the old men have vivid recollections of the days when they fought "in the towns of their enemies." A spirited account of a head celebration seen in the village of Lagangilang — from which ten of these tales were collected — will be

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<sup>1</sup> Paul P. de La Gironiere, who visited the Tinguian in the early part of the nineteenth century, describes these ornaments as follows: "Their heads were ornamented with pearls, coral beads, and pieces of gold twisted among their hair; the upper parts of the hands were painted blue; wrists adorned with interwoven bracelets, spangled with glass beads; these bracelets reached the elbow and formed a kind of half-plaited sleeve. LA GIRONIERE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, pp. 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See COLE and LAUFER, *Chinese Pottery in the Philippines* (*Pub. Field Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XII, No. 1).

<sup>3</sup> This is entirely in agreement with Chinese records. The Islands always appeared to the Chinese as an Eldorado desirable for its gold and pearls.

found in the writings of La Gironiere, already referred to.<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that this account, as well as those secured from many warriors of the present generation, offers some striking differences to the procedure in the olden days, particularly as regards the disposal of the skulls. The tales tell of the heads being placed on the *sagang*<sup>2</sup> at the spring, at the gate, or about the town, after the celebration. Certain of the present villages make use of the *sagang*, but the more common type of head holder is the *saloko*,<sup>3</sup> which still figures in many ceremonies. However, the heads only remain in these receptacles until the day set for the festival. They are then carried to the centre of the village and there, amid great rejoicing, are cut open; the brains are removed and to them are added the lobes of the ears and joints of the little fingers, and the whole is then placed in the liquor, which is served to the dancers. Before the guests depart the skulls are broken into small pieces and a fragment is presented to each male guest, who carries it home and is thus often reminded of the valor of the takers.<sup>4</sup> A study of Tinguian beliefs furnishes an additional religious motive for the taking of heads, but with the people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan revenge and the desire for renown were the prime incentives.

Every tale emphasizes the importance of the *Sayang* ceremony and the spirit structure known as *balana*.<sup>5</sup> The ceremony is nowhere described in full, but the many details which are supplied show that it was almost identical with that of to-day. The same is true of the *Dawak*,<sup>6</sup> which we find mentioned on three different occasions, and of the ceremony made to aid in locating lost or stolen articles. The most noticeable fact, to the person familiar with Tinguian life, is that these are the only ceremonies mentioned among the many known and practiced at present. More than a score of different rites are now well known to this people, and occupy a very considerable portion of their time and attention during the first four months of the year.

The failure to make mention of these very important events is explained, it seems to me, not by their absence, but by the fact that these rites vary in importance and that the privilege of celebrating them is hereditary in a family. Should one not entitled to hold such a ceremony

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 21, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> A bamboo pole, about ten feet long, one end of which is slit into several strips; these are forced apart and are interwoven with other strips, thus forming a sort of basket.

<sup>4</sup> See COLE, Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwestern Luzon (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, No. 3, 1909, pp. 340, 341).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 13, note 5.

desire to do so, he must first give, in order, all the lesser events, a costly procedure extending over a period of several years. The people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan always appear as being closely related to the spirit Kaboniyan,<sup>1</sup> and exceedingly powerful. It seems probable that the story teller takes it for granted that all of them are entitled to hold the most important ceremony known to the Tinguian.

A prominent figure in these rites is the medium, through whom the ancient people generally conversed with the spirits, but in exceptional cases we found the heroes talking direct with the superior beings; however, this gift is not confined to the men of old, for in such tales as 55 and 59 people who are believed to have lived recently have conversed with the spirits and have even been joined to them in marriage.

The procedure in choosing a bride, the engagement, the *pakálon*,<sup>2</sup> and the marriage proper are all those of the present day, but the rules governing the marriage of relatives differ radically. As already noted, one of the chief qualifications for marriage, among the people of the tales, was relationship, and even cousins became husband and wife. Such a thing is unthinkable among the Tinguian of to-day; first cousins are absolutely barred from marrying, while even the union of second cousins would cause a scandal, and it is very doubtful if such a wife would be allowed to share in her deceased husband's property.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that only one real<sup>4</sup> wife is recognized as legitimate, but that from "the first times" to the present a man might have as many concubines as he could secure.

So far as mythology and present day conditions can inform us the bride has always gone to the home of her husband and, for a time at least, has been subject to the dictations of her mother-in-law, although the couple are generally soon established in a home of their own, in the town of the groom. There is nothing in Tinguian life or tradition to indicate that they have ever had a clan system or a matriarchal form of government.

The few references to the procedure immediately after a death indicate that, in part, the people of to-day follow the old custom; but here again an important departure occurs. We are thrice told that the corpse was placed on a little raft called *tabalang* and set adrift on the river; and

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<sup>1</sup> Among the Ifugao, the lowest of the four layers or strata which overhang the earth is known as Kabuniyan. See BEYER, *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. VIII, 1913, No. 2, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> An Ifugao myth gives sanction to the marriage of brother and sister under certain circumstances, although it is prohibited in every day life. BEYER, *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. VIII, 1913, No. 2, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>4</sup> As opposed to the spirit mate of Aponitolau.

in one case the afterbirth was treated in the same manner. Nothing of the sort is done to-day, nor does it seem at all likely that such has been the case in recent generations. The body is now buried beneath the house, and certain set rules govern the movements of all persons related to the deceased, as well as the disposal of the corpse. This procedure is so complex and so uniform throughout the whole Tinguian belt that it seems improbable that it has grown up, except through a long period of time. At this point it is interesting to note that at many ceremonies it is necessary to construct a small raft called *tal-talababong*, or *talabong*, to place offerings in it, and set it adrift on the stream, in order that any spirits who have been prevented from attending the ceremony may still secure their share.<sup>1</sup>

The festivals, the dances, the observances of the proprieties required by good breeding or custom of to-day, follow closely those given in the tales. The greatest divergence is in the offering of betel-nuts and the telling of names, which occupies such an important place in the narratives. The use of betel-nut for chewing is less common among the Tinguian people than with most other Philippine tribes, a fact which may be accounted for by their constant use of tobacco. However, betel-nuts still occupy a most important place in the various ceremonies, and many offerings intended for the spirits must be accompanied with the prepared nut. In nearly every instance when invitations were sent out, for a ceremony, the people of the tales intrusted an oiled betel-nut covered with gold with this duty. This has its counterpart to-day in the small gifts of gold which are often carried to some friend, in another town, whose presence is particularly desired. It seems not improbable that the golden colored husks of the ripe betel-nuts may have suggested the substitution.

Magic was practiced extensively in "the first time," but it is by no means unknown to the people of the present day. They cannot now bring a dead person to life, or create human beings out of bits of betel.

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<sup>1</sup> According to LING ROTH, the Malanaus of Borneo bury small boats near the graves of the deceased, for the use of the departed spirits. It was formerly the custom to put jars, weapons, clothes, food, and in some cases a female slave aboard a raft, and send it out to sea on the ebb tide "in order that the deceased might meet with these necessities in his upward flight." Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, Vol. I, p. 145, (London, 1896). For notes on the funeral boat of the Kayan, see HOSE and McDUGALL, Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. II, p. 35.—Among the Kulaman of southern Mindanao an important man is sometimes placed in a coffin resembling a small boat, which is then fastened on high poles near to the beach. COLE, Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao (*Pub. Field Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1913).—The supreme being, Lumawig, of the Bontoc Igorot is said to have placed his living wife and children in a log coffin; at one end he tied a dog, at the other a cock, and set them adrift on the river. See JENKS, The Bontoc Igorot, p. 203, (Manila, 1905); SEIDENADEL, The Language of the Bontoc Igorot, p. 502 ff., (Chicago, 1909).

nut; but they can and do cause sickness and death to their foes by performing certain rites or directing actions against garments or other objects recently in their possession. Even the name of an enemy can be applied to an animal or inanimate object and action against it be transferred to the owner.

Like the Tinguian, the people of Kadalayapan and Kaodanan are warned or encouraged by omens received through the medium of birds, thunder, lightning, or the condition of the gall and liver of a slaughtered pig;<sup>1</sup> and like them they suffer for failure to heed these warnings, or for the infraction of a taboo.

The myths of the first division make it plain that, to the people of those times, the sun, moon, and stars were animate — either spirits or human beings. In some cases a similar conception was held for thunder and lightning, while in others they appear as animals. It will appear that such ideas are not foreign to the second division of the tales, which represent present day beliefs. Thus, in the mountain village of Baay the sky is considered as a male spirit — the husband of the earth, and father of sun and moon. Again, in Lagangilang and Abang, the thunderbolt is identified as Kadaklan — the most powerful of all spirits — who “often eats the ground and releases his wife Agemem.”

This brings us to a most interesting question, namely: Are the chief actors in our tales to be considered as celestial beings and spirits, or as human heroes? We have already made note of the fact that in the first tale Aponitolau is identified with Ini-init whom, we are told, was “the sun,” “the man who makes the sun,” “a round stone which rolls.” In this tale he marries Aponibolinayen, a maiden whose name may possibly be construed to mean “the woman in the moon.”<sup>2</sup> However, we find Aponitolau abandoning his place in the sky and going to reside in Kadalayapan. This tale comes from the town of Langangilang where, as we have already seen, the celestial beings are regarded as spirits. Tale fifteen, coming from the same town, shows us this same Aponitolau going up to the sky, where he marries the spirit Kabkabaga-an, but as before he returns to his home below. A further indication of his celestial character is perhaps afforded us in tale fourteen, which was recorded in Patok, a valley town in which the sun, moon, and stars are now regarded as “lights” belonging to the spirit Kadaklan. Here we find that Aponitolau marries the star maid Gaygayóma, who is the daughter of the big star Bagbagak, and Sinag — the moon. In this same tale Aponibo-

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<sup>1</sup> For similar omens observed by the Ifugao of Northern Luzon, see BEYER, *Origin Myths of the Mountain peoples of the Philippines* (*Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. VIII, 1913, No. 2, p. 103).

<sup>2</sup> Page 6, note 3.

linayen appears as the first wife of Aponitolau, and it is clear that in the mind of the story teller she is not identified with Sinag. Aponitolau appears in the other tales without any hint of celestial qualities. Aside from her name and the fact that she is once pictured as visiting the sky, there is nothing to indicate that his wife Aponibolinayen is to be considered as the moon. A careful study of the other characters who reside in Kadalayapan and Kaodanan fails to yield any evidence that they are considered as celestial beings.

During the *Sayang* ceremony held in San Juan, a certain man and woman, who are then called Iwaginán and Gimbagon,<sup>1</sup> represent the good spirits and are defended by the people when evil spirits try to dispossess them of their property. This is the only instance I have observed in which the names of any of these characters of the tales appear in the ceremonies, while a list of more than one hundred and fifty spirits known to the Tinguian fails to reveal more.

While in the practice of magic, and in their communication with nature, celestial bodies, and spirits, these "people of the first times" far excelled the present Tinguian, they had a material culture and ceremonial life much like that still found in Abra.

It seems then that these people, about whom the stories cluster, are not to be identified as celestial beings or spirits.<sup>2</sup> They appear rather as generalized heroes whose life and deeds represent that of an earlier period, magnified and extolled by succeeding generations.

### RITUALISTIC AND EXPLANATORY MYTHS

The second division of the tales now assumes a position of importance to us, for in it we find present day ideas and beliefs of the people strongly brought out, and are thus in a position to contrast them with the tenets of the people in "the first times."

The influence of custom is exceedingly strong among the Tinguian of to-day. The fact that the ancestors did so and so is sufficient justification for performing any act for which they have no definite explanation. Nowhere is this influence greater than in the ceremonies. These, which accompany all the important happenings in their daily life, are conducted by mediums who are fitted for office by long training, and each one of whom is a check on the others if they wilfully or through carelessness deviate from the old forms. The ritual of these ceremonies is very

<sup>1</sup> See tale 22.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of this class of myths, see WATERMAN, *Jour. Am. Folklore*, Vol. XXVII, 1914, p. 13 ff.; LOWIE, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 101 ff., 1908; P. W. SCHMIDT, *Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien der austronesischen Völker*, (Wien, 1910).

complex and the reason for doing many acts now seems to be entirely lost, yet the one explanation "*kadañyan*"— custom — is sufficient to satisfy any Tinguian. Other acts, as well as the possession of certain things, are explained by myths, such as we are considering. It seems certain that we are here dealing not with present day beliefs alone, but with at least relatively old customs and tales, which while enabling us to understand present day conceptions also give us a glimpse into the past.

The myths 32-40, which are known to the people as *dīams*, are now inseparable parts of the various ceremonies. Thus, when a pig is to be offered in the *Sayang* ceremony, the medium sits down beside it and strokes it with oiled fingers while she "talks to the spirits." The translation of her "talk" shows that this is in no sense a prayer but is rather an account of how the greatest of the spirits taught the Tinguian people to perform this ceremony correctly. Likewise, when she offers food in the *Dawak*<sup>1</sup> ceremony, she relates how the spirit Kabonñyan taught the Tinguian to do this in the same manner that he performs it. In the *Pala-an*<sup>2</sup> *dīam* she relates, in story form, the cause of the sickness, but in this case ends with a direct invocation to the spirits in Dadáya to "make them well again if you please." The balance of the *dīams*, 35-40, are in story form, and seem intended more as an explanation to the people as to the causes of their troubles than to be directed toward the spirits. However, the medium seldom has an audience, and rarely ever a single listener, as she recites the *dīams* she has learned verbatim from her instructors when preparing for the duties of her office.

Myths 41-54 are of quite a different type. They are generally told by the mediums or wise old people, during the ceremonies, but always to a crowd of eager listeners. They are not learned word for word, as are the *dīams*, but their content is constant and they are thoroughly believed.

That they exert a great influence on the beliefs and conduct of both old and young is undoubted. The evil which befalls a person who molests the guardian stones is thus made known even to the children who generally keep at a distance from the grove in which they stand. Again, these tales give sharp warning as to what befalls a person who even ignorantly breaks the taboos following a death; but at the same time advance means of thwarting the wrath of the enraged or evil spirits.

Myths 55 to 62 at first glance do not appear to be explanatory at all, but seem rather to be a series of stories dealing with the relations between certain persons and the natural spirits or those of the dead. How-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 13, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> The *Pala-an* is third in importance among Tinguian ceremonies.



ever, it is the intent and use rather than the form of these stories which has caused them to be included in this division, for they give the people authority for certain beliefs and conceptions which they hold. Tale 56 gives us a glimpse of the prevalent idea of the abode of the dead, where the spirits lead much the same sort of life as they did while alive, but we secure quite a different picture of this realm from the Baluga<sup>1</sup> tale, in which the home of the deceased is said to be in the ground while the "life" of the dead woman is kept in a bamboo cup. This last account was heard in Manabo, a town near to the Igorot settlements of the Upit river, and may be influenced by the beliefs held in that section.<sup>2</sup>

Certain individuals appear to have intimate dealings with the natural spirits, in some instances even being joined to them in marriage. The afterbirth child, Sayen, is believed to have lived "not very long ago," yet we find his life and actions quite similar to those of the heroes in "the first times," while his foster mother — the *alan*<sup>3</sup> — takes the same part as did the *alan* of old.

Relations 63 to 74 appear as pure explanatory tales, accounting for the existence and appearance of celestial bodies and animals in their present state; they also account for the possession of fire and of many prized objects, such as jars and agate beads. Incidentally many essential traits and old customs come out, such, for instance, as those of war and mourning, which appear in connection with the origin of the *kalau*.<sup>4</sup>

With few exceptions the myths of this division correspond to present beliefs; the spirits are those known to-day; the towns mentioned are now existing or their former locations are well known. They have thus the appearance of being of more recent origin than those of the first division, yet it is worthy of note that there is little in them which seems foreign to or out of keeping with the older tales.

### FABLES

The last division may be said to be made up of fables, for the story tellers without hesitation label them as fictions. The last of these appears to be only a worked over incident of myth 56, in which the big bird Banog carries the hero to its nest, from which he escapes by holding to the wings of the young birds. It is possible that more of these fables are likewise incidents in tales prevalent among the Tinguian, but not heard by the writer. Whether or no this be true, it is certain that most of these

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<sup>1</sup> Tale 58.

<sup>2</sup> This is offered only as a possible explanation, for little is known of the beliefs of this group of Igorot.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 14, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Tale 68.

stories are well known to the Ilocano of the coast and the other Christianized natives throughout the archipelago. Comparison with the folk-lore from other regions shows that these stories are by no means confined to the Philippines. The chief incidents in the narrative of the turtle and the monkey have been recorded from the Kenyah of Borneo<sup>1</sup> and from the northern peninsula of Celebes;<sup>2</sup> the race between the shell and the carabao is told in British North Borneo<sup>3</sup> in regard to the plandok and crab, while it is known to European children as the race between the turtle and the hare. The threat of the mosquito in 84 is almost identical with that recorded by Evans in Borneo;<sup>4</sup> while many incidents in the fable of Dogidog<sup>5</sup> are found in the Iban story of Simpang Impang.<sup>6</sup>

When comparing the Tinguian versions of these fables with those of the Ilocano, one is impressed with the fact that while the incidents upon which they are founded are often identical, the stories themselves have frequently been moulded and changed by the tellers, who have introduced bits of old customs and beliefs until they reflect, in a way, the prevalent ideas of the people. Thus in the story of the magic *poncho*,<sup>7</sup> which is evidently of Spanish introduction, the owner is identified as the *banbantay* — a well-known minor spirit. Again, the first part of tale 85 is identical with that of the Ilocano, but ends with the parents of the groom preparing the things used in the *pakálon* — a very necessary part of the Tinguian marriage ceremony.

The footnotes have called attention to the many incidents which have their parallels in other districts. Reference to these shows that a large percentage are found in the islands toward the south. While recognizing that similarity of incidents does not necessarily mean identity of origin, we must still give full credit to the effects of borrowing, even over great distances. The easy communication along the coast during the past four hundred years and the contact with Spanish and Christianized officials and traders will readily explain the likeness of the tales in Division III

<sup>1</sup> HOSE and McDUGALL, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 148, (London, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> BEZEMER, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 304, Haag, 1904. For the Tagalog version of this tale see BAYLISS, (*Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 46).

<sup>3</sup> EVANS, *Folk Stories of British North Borneo*. (*Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 475).

<sup>4</sup> *Folk Stories of British North Borneo* (*Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLIII, p. 447, 1913).

<sup>5</sup> Tale No. 89.

<sup>6</sup> HOSE and McDUGALL, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, pp. 144-146.

<sup>7</sup> Tale 91. The cloak which causes invisibility is found in Grimm's tale of the raven. See GRIMM'S *Fairy Tales*, Columbus Series, p. 30. In a Pampanga tale the possessor of a magic stone becomes invisible when squeezes it. See BAYLISS, (*Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 48).

to those held in distant islands, or even in Europe, but, as just noted, these are now undergoing change. Doubtless a similar inflow had been taking place, although at a slower rate, long before the Spaniards reached the Islands, and Tinguian mythology has grown up as the result of blending of native tales with those of other areas, the whole being worked over and reshaped until it fitted the social setting.

Previous writers — among them Ratzel and Graebner<sup>1</sup> — have sought to account for certain resemblances in culture, between Malaysia, Polynesia, and America, by historical connection. A part of our material — such as that of the blood-clot child (p. 125),<sup>2</sup> the rape of the maiden by the vine which carries her to the sky (p. 33),<sup>2</sup> the magic flight (p. 75),<sup>2</sup> and magic growth (p. 38)<sup>3</sup> — may seem to lend support to such a theory. These similarities are assuredly suggestive and interesting, but it appears to the writer that the material is too scanty and the folklore of intervening lands too little known to justify us in considering them as convincing proof of borrowing over such immense distances.<sup>4</sup>

### GENERAL RESULTS

Our study has brought out certain general results. We have seen that Tinguian folklore has much in common with that of other tribes and lands. While a part of this similarity is doubtless due to borrowing — a process which can still be seen at work — a considerable portion of the tales is probably of local and fairly recent origin, while the balance appears to be very old. These older tales are so intimately interwoven with the ceremonies, beliefs, and culture of this people that they may safely be considered as having been developed by them. They are doubtless much influenced by present day conditions, for each story teller must, even unconsciously, read into them some of his own experiences and the current beliefs of the tribe. At the same time these traditional accounts doubtless exercise a potent influence on the thoughts, beliefs, and actions of the people. In Tinguian society, where custom still

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<sup>1</sup> RATZEL, *History of Mankind*, Vol. I, Book II. GRAEBNER, *Methode der Ethnologie*, Heidelberg, 1911; *Die melanesische Bogenkultur und ihre Verwandten* (*Anthropos*, Vol. IV, pp. 726, 998, 1909).

<sup>2</sup> See WATERMAN, *Journal American Folklore*, Vol. XXVII, 1914, pp. 45-46.

<sup>3</sup> Stories of magic growth are frequently found in North America. See KROEBER, *Gross Ventre Myths and Tales* (*Anthropological Papers of the Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 82); also LOWIE, *The Assiniboin* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, p. 136).

<sup>4</sup> Other examples of equally widespread tales are noted by BOAS, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 852, (Berlin, 1895); L. ROTH, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 87 ff., (New York, 1885); and others. A discussion of the spread of similar material will be found in GRAEBNER, *Methode der Ethnologie*, p. 115; EHRENREICH, *Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker*, pp. 77 ff.; EHRENREICH, *Die allgemeine Mythologie und ihre ethnologischen Grundlagen*, p. 270.

holds undisputed sway, these well-known tales of past times must tend to cast into the same mould any new facts or experiences which come to them.

We believe that we are justified when we take the viewpoint of the Tinguian and consider "the stories of the first times" as essentially very old. How old it is impossible to state definitely, but a careful analysis of our material justifies us in believing that they reflect a time before the people possessed terraced rice fields, when domestic work animals were still unknown, and the horse had not yet been introduced into their land. That these are not recent events is attested by the great part they all now play in the ceremonial and economic life. It is evident that outside influences of great importance were introduced at a period later than the time when the Chinese first began to trade along the coasts of the Philippines for the prized jars, which play such an important rôle in the mythology, are not to be identified as those of native make but are ancient Chinese vessels dating back at least to the fourteenth and perhaps even to the tenth century.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that the glass, porcelain, and agate beads, which are second only to the jars in importance, are exceedingly old. Many ancient specimens are still in use and are held for as fabulous prices as are those found among the interior tribes of Borneo. Nieuwenhuis has shown that the manufacture of beads had become a great industry in the middle ages, and had extended even to China and Japan, whence the products may have spread contemporaneously with the pottery.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that, for the most part, the life, customs, and beliefs which appear in our reconstruction of "the first times" agrees closely with present conditions; certain things which seem formerly to have been of prime importance — such as the sending of a betel-nut covered with gold to invite guests to a festival or ceremony — appear to have their echo in present conditions. The betel-nut which played such a momentous part in the old times still holds its place in the rituals of the many ceremonies, although it is not now much used in daily life. The magic of to-day is less powerful than formerly, but is still a tremendous force. The communication of the ancient people with other members of the animate world, as well as with the inanimate and spiritual, and their metamorphosis into animals and the like, offers nothing strange or inconsistent to the people of to-day. They even now talk to jars, they converse with spirits who come to them through the bodies of their mediums,

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<sup>1</sup> COLE and LAUFER, Chinese Pottery in the Philippines (*Publication Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Chicago, 1913).

<sup>2</sup> NIEUWENHUIS, Kunstperlen und ihre kulturelle Bedeutung (*Int. Arch. für Ethnographie*, Vol. XVI, 1903, pp. 136-154).

and people only recently deceased are known to have had the power of changing themselves, at will, into other forms.

In short, there is no sharp break between the mode of thought of to-day and that exhibited in the folklore. It is true that the tales give sanction to some things not in agreement with Tinguian usage — such, for instance, as the marriage of relatives, or the method of disposing of the dead — and it may be that we have here a remembrance of customs which long ago fell into disuse.

In a previous paper<sup>1</sup> the writer showed that there have been many migrations into Abra from the north, south, and west. A part of the emigrants have become thoroughly amalgamated with the Tinguian people and have doubtless introduced some part of their material culture and beliefs. This helps us to understand such conflicts as we have already noted in regard to the place held by thunder and lightning in the spirit world, as to the future abode of the spirits of the departed, as well as other discrepancies which the limits of this paper have prevented us from discussing.

It is not impossible that those customs of “the first times,” which are at variance with those of to-day, may represent older ideas which have been swamped, or, on the other hand, the memory of the strange customs once practiced by the emigrants may have caused them to be attributed to the people of the tales.

Finally, we believe that a study of Tinguian mythology has shown us that we can gain a real knowledge of the past of a people through their folklore; that we can secure an insight into their mental life; and can learn something of the valuation they attach to certain of their activities and beliefs, which to us may seem at the surface trite and trivial.

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<sup>1</sup> *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1908, pp. 197-211.

## TALES OF THE MYTHICAL PERIOD

"We go to take greens, sister-in-law Dinay, perhaps the *siksiklat*<sup>1</sup> will taste good. I have heard that the *siksiklat* is good," said Aponibolinayen. They went to get her *siksiklat*. When they arrived at the place of small trees, which they thought was the place of the *siksiklat*, they looked. Aponibolinayen was the first who looked. As soon as she began to break off the *siksiklat* which she saw she did not break any more, but the *siksiklat* encircled and carried her up. When they reached the sky (literally "the up"), the *siksiklat* placed her below the *alosip*<sup>2</sup> tree. She sat for a long time. Soon she heard the crowing of the rooster. She stood up and went to see the rooster which crowed. She saw a spring. She saw it was pretty because its sands were *oday*<sup>3</sup> and its gravel *pagat-pat*<sup>4</sup> and the top of the betel-nut tree was gold, and the place where the people step was a large Chinese plate which was gold. She was surprised, for she saw that the house was small. She was afraid and soon began to climb the betel-nut tree, and she hid herself.

The man who owned the house, which she saw near the well,<sup>5</sup> was Ini-init — the sun. But he was not in the place of his house, because he went out and went above to make the sun, because that was his work in the daytime. And the next day Aponibolinayen saw him, who went out of his house, because he went again to make the sun. And Aponibolinayen went after him to his house, because she saw the man, who owned the house, who left. When she arrived in the house, she quickly cooked, because she was very hungry.

When she finished cooking, she took the stick used in roasting fish and cooked it, and the fish-stick which she cooked became cut-up fish, because she used her magic power.<sup>6</sup> When she finished to cook the fish, she took out rice from the pot, and when she had finished to take out the rice from the pot, she took off the meat from the fish. When she finished taking the fish from the pot, she ate. When she finished eating, she washed. When she finished washing, she kept those things which she used to eat, the coconut shell cup and plate, and she laid down to sleep.

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<sup>1</sup> A vine the new leaves of which are used for greens.

<sup>2</sup> *Antidesma ghesaembilla* Gaertn.

<sup>3</sup> Rare beads.

<sup>4</sup> Larger beads than *oday*.

<sup>5</sup> Shallow wells are dug in the sands, near to the river.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 17, note 3.

When afternoon came, Ini-init went home to his house after he finished fishing. He saw his house, which appeared as if it was burning, not slowly. He went home because it appeared as if his house was burning. When he arrived at his house, it was not burning, and he was surprised because it appeared as if there was a flame at the place of his bed. When he was in his house, he saw that which was like the flame of the fire, at the place of his bed, was a very pretty lady.

Soon he cooked, and when he had finished to cook he scaled the fish, and when he had finished scaling he cut it into many pieces, and he made a noise on the bamboo floor when he cut the fish. The woman awoke, who was asleep on his bed. She saw that the man who cut the fish was a handsome man, and that he dragged his hair.<sup>1</sup> The pot she had used to cook in looked like the egg of a rooster<sup>2</sup> and he was surprised because it looked like the egg of a rooster; and the rice which she cooked was one grain of broken rice.<sup>3</sup> Because of all this Ini-init was surprised, for the pot was very small with which she cooked. After Ini-init cooked, the woman vanished and she went to the leaves of the betel-nut, where she went to hide.

After Ini-init finished cooking the fish, he saw the bed, the place where the woman was sleeping, was empty. He was looking continually, but he did not find her. When he could not find her, he ate alone, and when he finished eating he washed, and when he finished washing the dishes he put away, and when he had finished putting away he went to the yard to get a fresh breath.

Not long afterwards he went to take a walk in the place of his betel-nuts. When he had finished to take a walk in the place of his betel-nuts, he went to sleep.

When it began to be early morning, he left his house, he who went up, because it was his business to make the sun. And Aponibolinayen went again into the house.

When it became afternoon, Ini-init went to his home, and Aponibolinayen had cooked, after which she went out to the betel-nut trees. When Ini-init arrived, he was surprised because his food was cooked, for there was no person in his house. As soon as he saw the cooked rice and cooked fish in the dish, he took the fish and the rice and began to eat. When he

<sup>1</sup> It was so long that it dragged.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., it was so small. The idea that roosters produce unusually small eggs is still held. The same conception is found in Javanese folk-lore. Here the "rooster's egg" or its substitute—the *Kemiri* nut—is placed in the granary to cause an increase in the supply of rice. BEZMER, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 29, (Haag, 1904).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 17, note 3, for similiar incidents in other Philippine tales, also from Borneo and India.

had finished eating, he went to his yard to take a fresh breath and he was troubled in his mind when he thought of what had happened. He said, "Perhaps the woman, which I saw, came to cook and has left the house. Sometime I shall try to hide and watch, so that I may catch her." He went to sleep, and when it became early morning he went to cook his food. When he had finished eating, he went again to make the sun, and Aponibolinayen went again to his house.

When the sun had nearly sunk, he sent the big star who was next to follow him in the sky, and he went home to spy on the woman. When he had nearly reached his home, he saw the house appeared as if it was burning.<sup>1</sup> He walked softly when he went up the ladder. He slammed shut the door. He reached truly the woman who was cooking in the house. He went quickly and the woman said to him, "You cut me only once, so that I only cure one time, if you are the old enemy." "If I were the old enemy, I should have cut before," said Ini-init, and he sat near her who cooked. He took out the betel-nut, and he arranged it so that they began to chew the betel-nut, and he said, "Ala! young lady, we are going to chew, because it is bad for us to talk who do not know each other's names. Aponibolinayen answered, "No, for if the rich man who practices magic is able to give to the rich woman who has magical power, soon there will be a sign." Ini-init said, "No, hurry up even though we are related, for you come here if we are not related."<sup>2</sup>

He begged her and he cut the betel-nut, which was to be chewed, which was covered with gold, and he gave it to the woman who had magical power, and they chewed. When she laid down the quid, it looked like the agate bead, which has no hole for the thread. And the quid of Ini-init looked like a square bead.

"My name is Ini-init, who often goes to travel over the world. I always stop in the afternoon. What can I do, it is my business," he said. Aponibolinayen was next to tell her name. "My name is Aponibolinayen, who lives in Kaodanan, who am the sister of Awig," she said, and when they had finished telling their names, both their quids looked like the agate bead which is *pinoglan*, which has no hole. Ini-init said, "We are relatives, and it is good for us to be married. Do not be afraid even though you did not come here of your own accord. I go to Kaodanan," he said. Then they married, and the sun went to shine on the world, because it was his business, and the big star also had business when it became night. Aponibolinayen staid alone in the house, and in the

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<sup>1</sup> The illuminating power of beauty receives frequent mention. Similiar references are met with in Malay legends and Indian tales. See TAWNEY, *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, p. 121 ff. (Calcutta, 1880.)

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this passage is not clear.



afternoon the sun again went home, but first he went to fish in the river. He went home when he had caught the big fish for them to eat — both those married. And when he arrived in their house he found Aponibolinayen, who was cooking, and he saw that she still broke up the fish-stick, which she cooked. Ini-init asked her, "What are you doing with that stick which you are breaking, which you put in the jar?" and Aponibolinayen replied, "I cook for us both to eat," and the sun laughed, because she cooked the stick. "You throw away that stick which you are cooking; this fish which I caught with the net is what you are to cook. It is not eatable that fish-stick which you cook," he said. Aponibolinayen said, "You shall see by and by, when we eat, what it will become. You hang up the fish which you caught, which we shall eat to-morrow." "Hurry up! You throw away that stick which you cook, it has no use. Even though you cook for one month, it will not become soft, and I do not think it will become good," said Ini-init. Aponibolinayen said, "No, you hurry and hang that fish which you caught with the net, because it is nearly cooked — the rice and the fish." Not long after she took out the rice from the jar, and she uncovered her cooked fish, which was a stick. When the sun saw that the fish came from the stick which she cooked, he was surprised and he asked her how she made the stick, which she cooked, turn to fish. Aponibolinayen said, "You hurry come and eat, for I have finished taking out the rice and fish."<sup>1</sup>

Not long after that the sun went truly in front of her to the place of the rice and cooked fish, and they ate.

Not long after they finished and Aponibolinayen washed, and when she had finished washing she put away those things which they ate and Ini-init made trouble because of the stick which became a fish. He again asked Aponibolinayen how she made the stick into fish, and Aponibolinayen said, "Do not trouble yourself, perhaps you know about the rich woman who practices magic in Kaodanan," and Ini-init said, "Yes, I know the rich woman who practices magic in Kaodanan, who sometimes has much power, who changes, who has no equal." Aponibolinayen said, "Why do you still ask if you know?" "I ask because I want to be sure, even though I know you have much power," said Ini-init. "If that is true, do not ask again," she said. Not long after while they were talking, they went to sleep, and when it began to be early morning Ini-init went to make the sun on all the world; when they had finished to eat he went to shine. Aponibolinayen staid in the house. When it came afternoon, the sun went down and he went directly to fish in the river, for the fish which they ate — the two who were married. Not long

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 17, note 3.

after he caught again a big fish, and he went home. When he arrived, Aponibolinayen had finished cooking, and he asked where she got the fish which she had cooked, and she said, "Why do you ask again? You know it is the stick which I cook, which is fish, which we ate, before you arrived again with fish. Throw away the fish which you caught, for this stick is many fish which I cook." After that Ini-init said, "Why do you order to throw away, that which serves the purpose to which we put it, even though you cook many sticks?" "If you value it, hang it on the hanger, and you come and eat."

Not long after they ate, and when they had finished eating, they washed, and when they had finished washing those things which they used to eat on, they talked and they went to sleep.

When it became the middle of the night, Aponibolinayen woke up. "I go up with you when you go up in the early morning," she said. Ini-init said to her, "Do not come, for it is very hot up above. You cannot endure the heat, and you will repent when we are there." "No, if it is too hot, we shall take many blankets and pillows, which I shall go under," she said again and again until it became early morning, then Ini-init agreed. They ate first and then they arranged those pillows and blankets which they took with them.

Not long after they went east, and when they arrived there the sun shone, and Aponibolinayen became oil because it was so hot, and Ini-init put her in a bottle, and he corked it and covered it with blankets and pillows, which sheltered her, and he dropped it down. She fell by the well in Kaodanan, and Indiápan, who was still dipping water, turned her face at the sound of the falling at her side. She saw many good blankets and pillows, and she unwrapped that which was wrapped, and when she had finished to unwrap she saw it was a pretty lady — none equal to her — and she was frightened. She went quickly to go up to the town, where they lived, and when she arrived there she said to the people, "We have been searching a long time for Aponibolinayen, and you killed and used many cows as food for the searchers, and you spent much for her. She is at the spring. I was frightened when she fell by me, who was dipping water from the well. I saw many pretty blankets and pillows, and I unwrapped that which was wrapped, and it was Aponibolinayen whom we are seeking," said Indiápan. They went quickly — her father and mother — and the other men went to see her, and when they arrived at the place of the well they saw Aponibolinayen whom they sought. "Where did you come from, Aponibolinayen, for whom we have been seeking? We have invited many and have fed many to search for you. Among the towns there is not one we did not search for you, and now you are here," said her father and mother. She said, "I came from

Pindayan. I nearly did not come, because the *alzados*<sup>1</sup> closed the way, and I escaped while they slept."

Not long after they went up to the town, and not long after they went to wash their hair and bathe in the river, and when they had finished washing their hair they went home.

Ebang said, "Ala! husband Pagatipánan, let us make *balana*<sup>2</sup> and invite our relatives who are sorrowing for Aponibolinayen," and Pagatipánan said, "We shall make *balana* when next month comes, but now Aponibolinayen feels ill, perhaps she is tired. Not long after that Aponibolinayen commanded them to prick her little finger which itched; and when her mother pricked it out popped a pretty baby.<sup>3</sup> Her mother asked, "Where did you get this baby, Aponibolinayen?" But Aponibolinayen did not tell. "I do not know where I got it, and I did not feel," she said. When they could not compel her to tell where she secured the baby, "Ala, we make *balana* to-morrow," said the father and mother.

They made *balana*, and not long after Ebang used magic, so that many people went to pound rice for them, and when they had finished to pound rice they built *balana*, and they went to get the betel-nut which is covered with gold for chewing. When these arrived, Ebang oiled them when it began to get dark. "You betel-nuts go to all the people in the whole world and invite them. If any of them do not come, you grow on their knees," said Ebang. And those betel-nuts went to invite all the people in the whole world. Every time they bathed the child they used magic, so that it grew as often as they washed it, until it walked. The betel-nuts arrived in the towns where they went to invite. The one that went to Nagbotobotán — the place where lived the old woman Alokotán — said, "Good morning, I do not tarry, the reason of my coming is that Ebang and Pagatipánan commanded me, because Aponibolinayen is there." "Yes, you go first, I will come, I will follow you. I go first to wash my hair and bathe," she said. The betel-nut which is covered with gold said, "I wait for you, for if you do not come, I shall grow on your knee." The old woman Alokotán started when she finished washing her hair and bathing. The betel-nut, which was covered with gold, took her, and not long after they arrived, and they met those whom the other betel-nuts went to summon in the other towns. No one wanted the baby to go to them,<sup>4</sup> and when none wished it

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 18, note 2, for similar incidents.

<sup>4</sup> This would have been a sign that the child wished to go to its father.

to approach, the old woman Alokotán summoned the spirits. ("What town did they not yet invite?" This question was added by the story-teller. Not part of tale.) The old woman Alokotán said, "You invited all the people except Ini-init, who is above. You did not send the prepared betel-nut covered with gold to summon him. Perhaps he made Aponibolinayen pregnant, because the *siksiklat* took her up when they went to gather greens — she and her sister-in-law, who is Dinay."

They commanded the betel-nuts, and they oiled them, and sent them. Not long after the betel-nut, whom they sent, arrived above, who went to call Ini-init. And the betel-nut said, when he arrived, "Good morning, Sun, I do not tarry. The reason of my visit is that Ebang and Pagatipánan, who make *balaua*, send me. If you do not wish to come, I will grow on your head." The sun said, "Grow on my head, I do not wish to go." The betel-nut jumped up and went on his head, and it grew. Not long after the betel-nut became tall and the sun was not able to carry it, because it became big, and he was in pain. "You go to my pig, that is what you grow on," he said. Not long after the betel-nut jumped on the head of his pig, and the pig began to squeal because it could not carry the betel-nut which began to grow on its head. And Ini-init said, "Ala! get off my big pig and I come." The betel-nut got off the pig.

Not long after they went and Pagatipánan carried the baby near to the gate. When Ini-init and the betel-nut approached, the baby was happy and he went to be carried by Ini-init. When they arrived at the festival place, the people saw that he who carried the baby rolled because he was round, and they saw he was not a man but a stone, and Ebang and Pagatipánan said, "Ala! Aponibolinayen, you start and take off your arm beads and you dress in rags, you wrap your wrists with strings, in place of the arm beads, so that you can go with the stone when he takes you to his home, when our *balaua* is finished. Not long after Aponibolinayen started. She took off her beads and her dresses and exchanged them for rags and strings. When she changed her dresses, she went down the ladder, and she saw that he who carried the baby was a stone, which was round. After that Pagatipánan said, "Ala! now our *balaua* is finished, you go home to the town of the stone." Aponibolinayen said, "Yes, if that is what you say." Those people who were invited bade them good-by, and when they went away, they went home also — those whom they invited.

Not long after they arrived at their home and the sun became a man, he who had been a stone before. "When next month comes we shall build *balaua*, Aponibolinayen, so that we can invite our relatives, and

I will pay the marriage price, because I marry you,"<sup>1</sup> said Ini-init to her. Soon the month arrived in which they said they would build *balaua*, and they summoned the old woman Alokotán, to start the *balaua*. Not long after they sent to get *bolo* and *lono*<sup>2</sup> with which to make the *dakidak* and *talapitap*.<sup>3</sup> When it became afternoon the old woman Alokotán began to sing *da-eng*<sup>4</sup> and the next night they sang *da-eng* again. Not long after they commanded to pound rice, and Aponibolinayen used magic so that many women went to pound with them.<sup>5</sup> And Ini-init practiced magic so that they had many neighbors, and many who went to pound rice with them.

Soon they commanded to get the timbers for the *balaua*, and they prepared everything which they needed. When it became morning they built *balaua*, and not long after they went to get the prepared betel-nut, which is covered with gold, which they sent to invite their relatives.<sup>6</sup>

When they arrived — those prepared betel-nuts which were covered with gold — they oiled them at the beginning of the night, and sent them to invite. Aponibolinayen said, "I will use magic, so that you, betel-nut, may reach the town of our relatives so that you invite all of them. When there is one who will not come, you grow on their knees, as long as they do not come." Not long after they made *Libon*<sup>7</sup> in the beginning of the night.

Those betel-nuts, whom they sent to invite, arrived, those which they sent to invite their relatives. They did not wish to go to make *balaua*. The betel-nuts who went to invite them said, "If you do not wish to come, I will grow on your knee." Pagatipánan said, "You grow," and the betel-nut grew on his knee, and it became high and he was in pain. "Ala! you get off my knee, and you go on my pig," he said, and the betel-nut went truly on his pig and it squealed. "You get off my pig, and we will come," he said, and the betel-nut truly got off the pig. "Ala! you who live in the same town, you go and wash your hair and bathe, and wash your clothes so that we can go to make *Sayang*<sup>8</sup> with the stone and Aponibolinayen. Here is a betel-nut covered with gold which they send," said Pagatipánan. And the people who lived in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Certain varieties of bamboo and reeds.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 13, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> The rice used in this ceremony is pounded in a certain manner, by many women who sing as they work.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 13, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 12.

the same town washed their hair and bathed, and they went to wash their clothes. Not long after it became afternoon and Pagatipánan used magic so that cake and singed pig appeared which they were to take to those who make *Sayang*, which they exchanged with those who make *Sayang*.<sup>1</sup> Not long after they arrived at the place of the gathering, and Aponibolinayen and Ini-init went to make *alawig*,<sup>2</sup> and when they had finished, they brought them up to the town. Pagatipánan said, "I did not think that the stone which rolled could change when he came to make *balaua* with us."

"*Ala!* now all you who have arrived, rich men, you divide the prepared betel-nut which is covered with gold," said Ini-init. Not long after Pagatipánan cut the betel-nut and chewed, and the quid of Ini-init went to the quid of Pagbokásan, and the quid of Aponibolinayen went to the quid of Pagatipánan.<sup>3</sup>

"*Ala!* now that we have finished chewing, I will give the payment for Aponibolinayen, and now that you have found out that I am your son — father and mother — let us give the payment,"<sup>4</sup> said Ini-init.

His father and mother said, "If that is what you say, my child, we will give," and they gave him the name of Aponitolau.<sup>5</sup> And Aponitolau said, "*Ala!* you play the *gansa* <sup>6</sup> so that we can dance." When they played the *gansa*, Iwaginan took the *alap* and *kinamayan*<sup>7</sup> and he gave them to Aponibolinayen and Agyokan. When Aponibolinayen and Agyokan had finished dancing, they made Aponitolau and Asindamáyan dance. When Aponitolau and Asindamáyan finished dancing he made to dance Dinay of Kabisílan, who was the daughter of Dalonágan, and also they made to dance Kanag,<sup>8</sup> who was the son of Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau. When they finished to dance, Datalan and Dalonágan of Kabisílan danced, and when they finished to dance, Iwaginan made Dagapan and Indiápan dance. When they had finished dancing Gintēban and Agyokan were next. And the beads of Gintēban were jars, which struck together while they danced. Next were Iwaginan and Kindi-iñan who

<sup>1</sup> Like presents, or others of equal value, are generally given in return.

<sup>2</sup> A dance held at the gate of the town, on the great day of this ceremony. During the dance rice and water are thrown on the visitors.

<sup>3</sup> This was a sign that they were related. In this case the quids of the young people went to those of their fathers.

<sup>4</sup> They had not yet paid the customary marriage price for the girl.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Copper gong.

<sup>7</sup> A white and a black strip of cloth which the dancers carry in their hands. When the cloth is given to a person he is thus invited to dance.

<sup>8</sup> Kanag was the baby born from Aponibolinayen's finger. Mentioned earlier in story.

was the wife of Ilwisan of Dagapan. And when they had all danced they stopped playing the *gansa*. Aponitolau gave the payment for Aponibolinayen and it was the *balaua* nine times filled with jars — *malayo*, *tadogan*, and *ginlasan*.<sup>1</sup> And when he had given all the payment they played again on the *gansas* for one month and they danced.

When one month passed, they went home — their relatives whom they had invited. They said, "Ala! now Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen, since the day has arrived on which we go home, do not detain us for we have been here for a month, we go home to our town." Not long after they all went home. And the father and mother of Aponitolau took them home with them to Kadalayapan, and they took all their possessions from up above. When they arrived in Kadalayapan those who lived in the same town were surprised, for Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen were there. They went to see them and Balokánag (i.e., Kanag — their son) was large. It is said.

(Told by Magwati, a man of Lagangilang Abra.)

## 2

"I am anxious to eat the mango fruit which belongs to Algaba of Dagála," said Aponibolinayen. When she said this she was almost dying and she repeated it. "Ala cousin Dalonágan, you go and take cousin Dina-ogan, and go and secure the mango fruit of Algaba of Dagála," said Aponibalagen. "Why does Aponibolinayen want the mango fruit of Algaba of Dagála; does she not know that anyone who goes there cannot return?" asked Dalonágan. "Ala, you go and be careful and he will not hurt you," said Aponibalagen. And Dalonágan went truly, and started, and Aponibalagen gave Dalonágan a belt and earrings, which he was to trade for the mango fruit; and Dalonágan went to get Dina-ogan, and he took an egg. Not long after they went and they held the egg all the time as they walked. When they were in the middle of the way the egg hatched. When they had almost arrived in Dagála the chicken had become a rooster which could crow.

Not long after they arrived at the spring of Algaba of Dagála, and the people who dipped water from the spring were there. "You people who are dipping water from the spring, where is a shallow place where we can cross?" "Where is the shallow place where we can cross you say, rich men, perhaps you are enemies," said the women who were dipping water. "If we are enemies we would kill you," said Dalonágan. "You see the shallow place where the people cross," said the people

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<sup>1</sup> Names of different kinds of jars.

who were dipping water from the well. Not long after they spread their belt on the water and they rode across. When they arrived on the other side of the river they took a bath. As soon as they finished bathing they went on top of a high stone and dried their bodies. The water which dropped from their bodies became agates which have no holes through them, and the women who were dipping water saw the agates which dropped from their bodies and they touched each other and said, "Look at that." When they put their clouts on they asked the women, "Where is the road to the house of Algaba of Dagála?" "You follow the *sagang*,<sup>1</sup> they lead to his house and his *balaua*," said the women who were dipping water from the well. "Will one of you guide us to the house of our cousin Algaba?" they said. "No, because no one comes to get water unless all are together," said the women. Not long after Dalonágan and his companion went up to the town and the defensive fence, which was made of boa constrictors, did not notice them for the snakes slept. Not long after they arrived at the *balaua*. "Wes," they said, and the old woman *alan*<sup>2</sup> came to look at them through the window. "How are you?" she said. "Do not go to the *balaua*, because Algaba can see you," said the *alan*.

Algaba was playing with his sweetheart in the other house, when his sweetheart arrived from the well. "Your big snakes, which make the fence, did not see the enemies who came inside of the town." Then Algaba ran to his house and he was very angry when he saw the two men. He went to get his headaxe and spear and when he took them down the weapons shed tears which were of oil. "What is the matter with my weapons that they weep oil? Perhaps these men are my relatives," said the angry man. He dropped them and when he took another set they shed bloody tears.

The two men went up into the kitchen of the house, and Algaba went there. "How do you do now?" he said, still angry. "What do you want here?" "What are you here for, you ask, and we came to buy the mango fruit for Aponibolinayen who is nearly dead." "It is good that you came here," said Algaba, but he was angry and the two men were frightened, and they did not eat much. As soon as they finished eating, "What do you want to pay?" said Algaba. They let him see the one earring of Aponibolinayen. "I don't like that; look at the yard of my house. All the stones are gold," said Algaba. When he did not want the earring, they let him see the belt, and Algaba smiled. "How pretty it is! I think the lady who owns this is much pret-

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<sup>1</sup> Poles on which the heads of enemies are displayed.

<sup>2</sup> The *alan* are lesser spirits. See p. 14.



tier," he said to them. "Ala, you go and get two of the fruit." So they went truly, and Dalonágan went to climb and when he secured two mangoes he went down. "We go now." "I will go with you for I wish to see Aponibolinayen," said Algaba. He said to his mother *alan*, "You, mother, do not feel anxious concerning me while I am gone, for I want to go and see the sick lady who so desires the mango fruit. Watch for enemies who come inside the town." "Yes, do not stay long," said his mother *alan*.

Not long after they went and when they were in the middle of the way Algaba said, "Is it far yet?" "It is near now," they answered. "I use my power so that the sick woman, for whom they came to get fruit, will feel very ill and nearly die," said Algaba to himself. Not long after, truly they almost arrived. When they reached the well, he asked again, "Is it still far?" but he knew that the well belonged to Aponibolinayen. "It is near now; she owns this well," they said. Not long after they entered the gate of the town. "I use my power so that Aponibolinayen will die," he said, and she truly died. "Why is Aponibolinayen dead? The mango fruit which we went to get is worthless now," they said. "Perhaps she is the one they are wailing for," said Algaba of Dagála. When they reached the ladder, "The mango fruit which you went to get is no good at all," said Aponibalagen to them. "Yes, it is. I came because I wish to see her," said Algaba of Dagála. "If it is possible for you to bring her to life, please do so," said Aponibalagen to him, and took him inside of the house. Algaba looked at her, and she was a lady without an equal for beauty. Not long after he took the body in his arms. "I use my power so that when I whip my perfume<sup>1</sup> *kaladakad* she will move directly," he said, and the body moved. "I use my power so that when I whip my perfume *banaw-es* she will say 'Wes'" and she at once said "Wes." "I use my power so that when I whip my perfume she will wake up," and she woke up. "Wes, how long my sleep was!" said Aponibolinayen, for she was alive again. "How long I sleep! you say. You have been dead," said Algaba, and Aponibolinayen looked at him and she it saw was not Aponibalagen who held her in his arms. "Why, Aponibalagen, do you detest me? Another man is holding me," she said, and she arose from his arms, because she was ashamed. "Do not leave me, lady; you would have been dead a long time if I had not come," said Algaba, and their rings exchanged of themselves while he was holding her and when Aponibolinayen had regained her breath, Algaba divided the mango fruit into two parts and he gave to Aponibolinayen, but she did not want to take

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note 1.

it for she was ashamed. "If you do not wish to eat this fruit which I give you, you cannot go to anyone but me," said Algaba, and Aponibalagen left them alone.

Not long after Aponibolinayen could sit up straight, and she wanted to leave Algaba, but he took her. When Aponibolinayen looked at her ring she saw it was not her own. "Why have I another ring?" she asked, and she caught the hand of Algaba for he wanted to take her. "Give me my ring. It is not good for you, for it looks like copper. Take your ring, for it is really gold," said Aponibolinayen. "No, this is good, for I did not take it from your finger. The spirits wanted it to come to my finger. Our rings are both gold, but they are different colors," he said. "Let us chew betel-nut for it is bad for us to talk when we do not know each other's names." "It is not my custom to chew betel-nut," said Aponibolinayen. "Then you learn," said Algaba. Not long after he made her chew and he gave to her. "Now, lady, whom I visit you tell your name first," he said. "No, because I am ashamed, as a woman to tell my name first." Not long after he said, "My name is Algaba of Dagála. I have looked in all parts of the world for a wife, but I did not find anyone like you, and now I have found you, and I want you to be married to me." "My name is Aponibolinayen of Kaodanan, sister of Aponibalagen who are son and daughter of Ebang and Pagbokásan," said Aponibolinayen. Not long after they laid down their quids and they were rows of agate beads which have no holes. Algaba said, "It is good for us to be married." So they were married and they went to Dagála. As soon as they arrived in Dagála, "Mother," he said to his mother *alan*, "now we are going to take you to Kadalayapan, because I have found a wife." "No," said the *alan*, "we must first build *balaua* here." "That is good if it is what you desire," said Algaba.

Not long after Aponibolinayen commanded people to pound rice, and others to get betel-nuts which were covered with gold. So they truly made *Sayang*.<sup>1</sup> Not long after when it became evening they made *Libon*.<sup>1</sup> "The best for us to do is to invite Aponibalagen, and all the people of Kadalayapan and some other places," said Algaba. Not long after they sent the betel-nuts which were covered with gold to invite their relatives. Some of the betel-nuts they sent to Kaodanan. "Sir, come to Dagála, because Aponibolinayen and Algaba build *balaua*," said the betel-nut to Aponibalagen. When the other betel-nuts arrived at Kadalayapan to invite the people they said to Langa-an, "Come to Dagála because Aponibolinayen and Algaba make *balaua*." Not long after Aponibalagen and Aponigawani and the other people went.

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 12-13.

When they reached the middle of the way they met the people of Kadalayapan, so they were a large party who went. When they arrived at Dagála, at the place where the spring is, they saw that all the stones by the river were gold and they were surprised, and the people who were dipping water from the spring were there. "You people who are dipping water, where is the shallow place for us to cross?" they said. "You look for the place where the people go across?" said the people who were dipping water. Not long after they went across the river. As soon as they reached the other side of the river, they took a bath. The women who were dipping water saw that the water which ran from their bodies were agates which had no holes. "How wonderful are the people who live in Kadalayapan and Kaodanan, for they are relatives of Kabonīyan<sup>1</sup> and they have power," said the women who were dipping water from the well.

"You people who are dipping water, where is the trail which leads to the house of Algaba of Dagála?" they said. "Follow the head poles; they are along the road to his house," said the women who were dipping water. So they went up truly to the town, and the boa constrictors which made the fence around the town did not move when they passed, for they were afraid, and when they arrived at the house of Algaba the *alan* danced. When they sat down Pagatipánan was in a hurry. "Ala! Langa-an, let us go and give the betel-nut which is covered with gold to Algaba," he said and they went truly. They told Algaba that they were going to chew betel-nut, because they wished to learn if they were relatives; and Algaba said "That is good," and they called Aponīgawani to the house, and they cut the betel-nut in pieces. As soon as they cut it in pieces, "The best way to do is for you to tell your name first, because we came to visit you," said Pagatipánan to Algaba. "No, old man, you tell your name first," said Algaba. Not long after, "My name is Pagatipánan who am the *Lakay*<sup>2</sup> of Kadalayapan." Not long after, "My name is Pagbokásan who is the father of Aponībalagen of Kaodanan." Not long after, "My name is Algaba who is the son of an *alan* who has deformed feet,<sup>3</sup> who has no sister; we are not like you people who have power," said Algaba. Not long after, "My name is Aponībalagen of Kaodanan who is the son of Ebang and Pagbokásan." Not long after, "My name is Aponīgawani of Kadalayapan who has no brother, so that when some enemies come into our town I dress in the bark of trees." Not long after, "My name is Aponībolinayen who is the

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<sup>1</sup> A powerful spirit.

<sup>2</sup> The head man of a Tinguian village.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 14.

sister of Aponibalagen." As soon as they told their names, they laid down their betel-nut quids. The quids of Algaba and Aponigawani both went to the quid of Pagatipanan, also the quids of Aponibalagen and Aponibolinayen went to the quid of Pagbokasan. Then Aponigawani stood up. "You are so strange, Algaba, you are my brother. I am so glad that I have a brother now. You are bad for you let the enemies come into Kadalayapan," she said. "Excuse me for I was far from Kadalayapan and did not see; it is our custom for some of us to go to fight," said Algaba. "The best way to do, Aponitolau,<sup>1</sup> is for you to go back with us to Kadalayapan," said Aponigawani. "If that is what you wish it is all right," he said. Not long after the *balaua* was finished and they took them to Kadalayapan. The valuable things which the *alan* owned she gave to them, and she flew away.

When they arrived in Kadalayapan, Aponibalagen wanted to marry Aponigawani. He sent his mother to go and give the message. As soon as she arrived in Kadalayapan, "Good morning, nephew Aponitolau," said Ebang. "Good morning, what are you here for?" said Aponitolau. "What are you coming for, you say. Aponibalagen sent me to talk to you, for he wishes to marry Aponigawani," she said. "If you think it is good it will be all right," said Aponitolau, so she took out the engagement gift and she put one earring inside of a little jar and it was filled with gold. Aponitolau lifted his eyebrows and half of the gold disappeared, so Ebang put another earring in the pot and it was full again. "Ala! when it becomes evening you come and bring Aponibalagen," he said to Ebang. "Yes," she said. So she went home. As soon as she arrived in their house in Kaodanan, Aponibalagen asked the result of her trip. "They agreed all right; we will go when it becomes evening," said Ebang. When it became night they went to Kadalayapan and he lived with Aponigawani. When it became morning he took Aponigawani to Kaodanan and the father and mother of Aponigawani and the other people followed them. They went to get the marriage payment. It was the *balaua* filled nine times with jars. As soon as they gave all the payment, Aponitolau was the next to make his payment. It was also the *balaua* filled nine times. As soon as they made all the payment they went home.

(Told by Mano, a woman of Patok.)

### 3

"I am going to wash my hair. Give me the rice straw, which has been inherited nine times," said Aponitolau to his mother Langa-an.

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<sup>1</sup> Algaba is renamed Aponitolau.

So Langa-an gave him some and he went to the river to wash. As soon as he arrived at the well he saw the pretty girl who was washing her hair. He went and sat down on her skirt and the pretty girl told him not to cut her in many places so she would not need to doctor the wounds. "If I were an old enemy I would have killed you at the first. It is bad for us to talk when we do not know each other's names. Let us chew betel-nut," said Aponitolau. "No, for it is not my custom," said the girl. But Aponitolau compelled her to chew betel-nut with him. "You tell your name first," he said to her. "No, it is not good for me to tell my name first, for I am a woman. You are a man. You tell your name first." So Aponitolau said, "My name is Aponitolau of Kadalayapan who am the son of Langa-an and Pagatipánan, who came here to wash my hair. It is good fortune for me that I met you here washing your hair." "My name is Gimbangonan of Natpangan, who am the daughter of It-tonagan, who is the sister of Aldasan." As soon as she told her name she disappeared and went to hide among the betel nuts on the branch of a tree. So Aponitolau was very sorry and he went back home without washing his hair. As soon as he arrived where Langa-an was sitting he said to her "Mother, when I arrived at the well by the river I met a pretty girl whose name was Gimbangonan, the daughter of It-tonagan of Natpangan. We chewed betel-nuts and told our names, but as soon as she told her name she disappeared and I could not see her. She said that she lived in Natpangan. I want to marry her. Will you go and arrange the *pakálon*?"<sup>1</sup> So Langa-an went at once and got her hat which was as large as the *salakasak*<sup>2</sup> for she saw that Aponitolau was sorrowful.

When she took her hat it clucked.<sup>3</sup> "Why does my hat cluck when I take it down? I think they do not like you, Aponitolau," said Langa-an. "No, you go and try." So Langa-an went again to get her hat and again it clucked, but nevertheless she took it and went. When she was in the middle of the way the head of the hat which was like a bird swung and made Langa-an turn her head and it clucked again. Langa-an sat down by the trail and wondered what would happen. Not long after she went on again and she met Asindamáyan near the ford. She asked where the ford was and when Asindamáyan told her, she spread her belt on the water and it ferried her across. Not long after she reached the other side of the river, and she inquired for the house of Gimbangonan. Asindamáyan answered, "You look for the house where many people are putting props under the house. That is the house of Gimbangonan. Her porch has many holes in it."

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<sup>1</sup> See p. II.

<sup>2</sup> A big bird.

<sup>3</sup> A bad sign. See p. 19, note 1 for omens.

When Langa-an arrived at the house she said, "Good afternoon." And It-tonagan and Gimbangonan answered, "Good afternoon." They invited her to go up into the house and she went. "Why do you come here, Aunt?" said Gimbangonan. "I came to arrange for you to marry Aponitolau, for he wants to marry you and has sent me to talk about the *pakálon*." Gimbangonan was very happy and said to her mother, "You tell him yes, for I wish to marry Aponitolau." So It-tonagan agreed to the marriage and Langa-an asked how much the marriage price would be. "The regular custom of the people with magical power which is the *balaua* nine times full," said Aldasan, because It-tonagan was always restless and was walking outside the house. So Langa-an left a little jar and agate bead, as a sign of the engagement, for Gimbangonan. Not long after she went back home to Kadalayapan. When she arrived where Aponitolau was lying down she said, "Wes" for she was tired and Aponitolau heard her and he went and inquired what was the matter. His mother answered that they had agreed on the marriage and the next day he could go and marry Gimbangonan.

As soon as the next day came they prepared jars of *basi*,<sup>1</sup> and pigs to be carried to Natpangan, and Aponitolau carried one large empty jar.<sup>2</sup> So they went. As soon as they arrived Aponitolau asked where Gimbangonan was, and the people said, "Look at the big woman." He looked and saw that she was a very big woman and Aponitolau cried, for she was not the girl he had seen before, and he bent his head. While the old men were talking to each other Gimbangonan said to Aponitolau, "Come here, Aponitolau. Be very happy. Why do you bend your head?" Aponitolau did not listen, and he did not go. Not long after Langa-an and the others went back home and left Aponitolau to be joined to Gimbangonan. Aponitolau was afraid to go to Gimbangonan, for she was a very big woman. She called to him all the time, but he did not go to her. It-tonagan was restless and did not stay in the house even in the night, and they could not sleep.

After ten days Aponitolau said, "I am going to Kadalayapan for a little while. I will return soon." "If you go to Kadalayapan I will go with you," she said. "Do not go this time and I will take you next time," he said, and he went. When he was near the gate of the town of Kadalayapan he hung his head until he reached his house. His mother asked why he hung his head. "I do not wish to marry Gimbangonan for she is not the woman I met by the river." "Do not be angry with me for I did what you wished. I would not have engaged you to Gimban-

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<sup>1</sup> Sugar cane rum.

<sup>2</sup> The groom's gift.

gonan if you had not sent me." They sent their *liblibayan*<sup>1</sup> to go and get betel-nuts which were covered with gold, for they intended to make *Sayang*, so that they could find out who the woman was who had been by the river. Soon the *liblibayan* returned and they said, "We did not get the betel-nuts which you desired for we found a pretty toy among the branches of the tree." Aponitolau took the branch of the tree which shone as if covered with fire and he put a blanket on it and many pillows around it. As soon as they had again commanded the *liblibayan* to get the betel-nuts they went and soon they arrived with the fruit. They oiled the betel-nuts and sent them to every place in the world and if anyone refused to come they were to grow on their knees. Not long after the betel-nuts went to the different towns and invited all the people.

When they arrived they danced and Aponitolau looked at them to see if the woman he met at the river was there, but she was not among them, and he wondered what had become of the woman, for the betel-nuts had gone to all parts of the world. Aponitolau went into the house for he was sorrowful, and he laid down near the blankets and he noticed that the blankets appeared as if on fire and he was frightened.<sup>2</sup> He got up and unwrapped the blankets and he saw a pretty girl. "I did not think you were here. I have been engaged. You said your name was Gimbangonan, and I sent my mother to engage me to you, but when I saw Gimbangonan she was a big woman so I left her and came here to make *balaua* so I might find you. You cannot escape from me now for I shall hold your hand. Let us chew betel-nut." So they chewed and Aponitolau said, "My name is Aponitolau of Kadalayapan who is the son of Langa-an and Pagbokásan to whom you told a lie for you said you were Gimbangonan, and now I want to know your real name." "My name is Aponibolinayen of Natpangan who is the daughter of Ebang and Pagatipánan." When they had told their names they saw that they were related and that they both possessed magical power, so they were married.

After three days, Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "Wait for me in the house. Do not be lonesome, for our mother is here. I am going to see my pasture." "Do not stay long," said Aponibolinayen. "If anyone comes you hide in the house," said Aponitolau. Not long after he went and when he arrived in the pasture all the jars went around him and all the jars stuck out their tongues for they were very hungry for they had not been fed for a long time. The jars were *somadag*, *ginlasan*, *malayo*, and *tadogan*, and other kinds also.<sup>3</sup> When Aponitolau thought

<sup>1</sup> Lesser spirits.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 35, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 42, note 1.

that all the jars had arrived where he was he fed them with betel-nut, first covered with *lawed*<sup>1</sup> leaves. As soon as he had fed them he gave them some salt. Not long after he went back home and he rode on a carabao.

When he arrived at their house he called to Aponibolinayen, but no one answered him and he was surprised. So he hurried to the house and he saw that Aponibolinayen was dead and he was grieved. He took her in his lap and while her body was in his lap it began to sweat. He used his power so that when he whipped<sup>2</sup> his perfume *banawes* she said, "Wes." When he whipped his perfume *dagimonau* she awoke. When he whipped his perfume *alikedakad* she stood up and said, "I told you not to go, Aponitolau, but you went anyway. A big woman came here and stole all my things and killed me. I don't know who she was." Aponitolau called his mother and asked who it was and his mother replied that it was Gimbangonan. So Aponitolau went to Natpangan. "Why did you go to kill Aponibolinayen?" "I went to kill her for you do not care for me any more." "I do not like you, for you are a very big woman. Every time you step the floor is broken. If you come again to Kadalayapan I will cut your head off. Do not come again to harm Aponibolinayen." He went home to Kadalayapan and he divorced Gimbangonan.

Not long after they went to the pasture and they rode on the back of a carabao. As soon as they arrived, all the jars rolled around them and stuck out their tongues and Aponibolinayen was afraid, for she feared the jars would eat them. The wide field was full of jars. Aponitolau gave them betel-nut and *lawed* vine and salt. As soon as they fed them they went back home. Not long after Aponibolinayen said to Aponitolau, "We are going to Natpangan to visit my father and mother," so they went. As soon as they arrived there Aponibolinayen told her father and mother that Aponitolau had a pasture filled with many different kinds of jars, in the place of Kabinalan. When they had been in Natpangan ten days they returned home and Aponibolinayen's father and mother went with them and saw the jars. When they reached the field where the jars were they were afraid that the jars would eat them, but Aponitolau fed them. The father and mother of Aponibolinayen were surprised for there were many valuable jars which filled the wide field of Kabinalan. Not long after they went back home to Natpangan.

(Told by Angtan, a woman of Lagangilang.)

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<sup>1</sup> *Piper* sp.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 18, note 1.



## 4

"Sinogyaman, come and oil my hair so that I can go to war," said Aponitolau. "And you, Sinagayan, put some rice in the pot and cook it, and also some fish for us to eat." Not long after she cooked, and Sinogyaman oiled his hair. When Sinagayan finished cooking they ate and started to go to GEGENAWAN where ASIBOWAN lived. Sinogyaman and Sinagayan did not want him to go, but Aponitolau went anyway.

When he arrived at the edge of the town he stood still a long time, for he did not know the way to GEGENAWAN. A bird went to him and said, "Why do you stand here for a long time, Aponitolau?" "Why do you stand a long time, you say, and I am going to the town of ASIBOWAN, whom every one says is a pretty girl," said Aponitolau to the bird. "Ala, Aponitolau, it is best for you to follow me and I will show you the way to the place where ASIBOWAN lives." Not long after they went and they soon arrived at the town of GEGENAWAN. "Ala, Aponitolau, I leave you now for I have showed you the way," said the bird. So Aponitolau went alone to the house of ASIBOWAN. When he reached the ladder of her house ASIBOWAN was looking out of the window and she said, "Oh, there is a rich gentleman. How are you? Where are you going?" Aponitolau said, "I am going to Nagsingkawan, but I have lost my way and I thought that this was Nagsingkawan. I saw this house so I came to get a drink." "This is not Nagsingkawan. Come up and I will cook and we will eat." Aponitolau went up into the house and the girl gave him water to drink. She cooked and then she called him. "I do not want to eat yet. I will rest for awhile and eat when your husband comes," said Aponitolau.

Not long after, while they were talking he saw ASIBOWAN break the fish stick and put it in the pot and he watched to see what would become of the stick. He saw that it became a fish.<sup>1</sup> She called often for Aponitolau to come and eat and he went and he said, "I want to wait until your husband comes, for it is not good for us to eat first, and it is not good for us to be eating when he arrives." "Come, it will be all right. We will eat now, and he can eat when he comes" said ASIBOWAN. So he went to eat with her, for he was very hungry. He saw that she took all the rice and fish out of the pots, and there were only dishes for them. "What is the matter with this woman that she does not leave any fish for her husband?" he said to himself. While they were eating ASIBOWAN told him that she did not have a husband and Aponitolau smiled. When they finished eating, they cut betel-nut for

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 17, note 3.

them to chew. "Now be patient for we must chew betel-nut, for it is not good for us to talk until we know each other's names." Asibowan said, "How can we chew betel-nut, for I do not chew for I am related to Kaboniyan?"<sup>1</sup> "You must chew anyway for we cannot tell our names unless we chew," said Aponitolau. When Aponitolau urged her a long time she took the betel-nut and they chewed. "Since you are the lady who lives here, it is best that you tell your name first," said Aponitolau. "No it is not good for a woman to tell her name first, so you must tell your name," said Asibowan. Not long after, "My name is Aponitolau of Kadalayapan who is the son of Langa-an and Pagatipanan, who goes to find a pretty girl who has power like me," said Aponitolau. "My name is Asibowan of GEGENAWAN, who lives alone in the field, who has no neighbors for this is my fortune," said Asibowan. So Aponitolau staid with her nine months and his father and mother were searching for him. They had many people searching for him and they killed many animals to feed the people until all their animals were gone. The bones which they threw away made a pile nine times as large as the *balaua*.

Asibowan became pregnant and not long after she gave birth. "What shall we call our girl?" said Aponitolau. "We will call her Binaklingan." When Asibowan bathed the baby it grew one span for she used magical power. So the baby grew one span every time.<sup>2</sup> Not long after she could walk, Aponitolau saw the pile of bones which the searchers had thrown away when they ate, and it was nine times larger than the *balaua*. "The best thing for us to do, Asibowan, is for us to go to Kadalayapan, for my father and mother are still searching for me and the people who are searching are eating all their animals." "The best thing for you to do is to go home and find a woman whom you should marry and then when you are married you make *Sayang*<sup>3</sup> and I will come to Kadalayapan," said Asibowan, for it was not good for them to be married because she had less magical power than Aponitolau. "If you do not wish to go, I will take our daughter Binaklingan." "Wait awhile until we have commanded that a house be built for her to live in." Not long after they commanded that a house be made for Binaklingan, and it was all of gold. It was finished in the middle of the night and she used magic so that the golden house went to Kadalayapan.

When Aponitolau woke up early in the early morning he heard many roosters crowing and many people talking. "My daughter Binaklingan, how bad your mother is, for she sent us here to Kadalayapan without

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<sup>1</sup> A powerful spirit.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 30, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 12.

telling us," said Aponitolau. His daughter was very sorry but she played on the pan pipe. When it was morning Langa-an saw the golden house by their house. "Why there is a different house here. I think Aponitolau has arrived and maybe he is in that house," said Langa-an to Pagbokásan,<sup>1</sup> and Pagbokásan went outdoors. "Are you here Aponitolau? We had sought you for a long time, but did not find you. None of our animals are left alive," said Pagbokásan. "Why did you search for me? I told Sinogyaman and Sinagayan that I was going to fight. Did they not tell you?" said Aponitolau. "We thought that you encountered our old, dangerous enemies, for you have been away many months. Why do you have a daughter who is a young girl?" "Yes, Binaklingan who is here is my daughter, and her mother Asibowan with whom I lived for a long time did not want to come here to Kadalayapan, for she said I must find a girl suitable for me to marry and then we must make *balaua* so that she will come to our town."

When they had been in Kadalayapan five days, they went to take a walk in the evening of the sixth day, and they went to the spring of Lisnáyan. As soon as he arrived at the spring he used magic so that all the pretty girls who never go outdoors felt hot and went to the spring to bathe.<sup>2</sup> Not long after Aponibolinayen felt very hot and she went to take a bath at the spring. Aponitolau saw her taking a bath and she looked like the half of a rainbow, and Aponitolau went to her, and Aponibolinayen saw him while she was bathing. "Do not wound me in more than one place so I will not have so much to cure." "If I was an enemy I would have killed you at once," said Aponitolau. Soon he cut a betel-nut into two pieces. "It is best for us to chew betel-nut for it is bad for us to talk when we do not know each other's names." Aponibolinayen did not wish to chew, but when Aponitolau urged her she chewed and they told their names. "My name is Aponitolau of Kadalayapan who is the son of Pagbokásan and Langa-an." "My name is Aponibolinayen of Kaodanan who is the sister of Aponibalagen who put me at the place close to the spring of Lisnáyan, for he does not wish anyone to see me, but you have found me. Not long after, while they were talking, Aponibolinayen used magic so that she vanished and she went among the betel-nuts on the branch of the tree. "Where did the girl go? I did not see her when she vanished," said Aponitolau to himself. Not long after he went home with his head

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 7, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The story tellers explain the very frequent mention of "girls who always stay in the house" or "who never go out of doors" by saying that in former times the prettiest girls were always protected from the sunlight in order that their skin might be of light color. These girls were called *lala-am*—those within. It is not thought they remained constantly within doors.

bent for he was very sorrowful. When he arrived at their house, "Why are you bending your head Aponitolau?" said his mother. "What are you bending your head for? you say, and I went to the well of Lisnáyan and talked with Aponibolinayen, but after a while she vanished and I could not see her anymore." "Did you not give her any betel-nut?" asked his mother. "Yes, I did." "What are you so sorry for if you gave her betel-nut? you will find her bye and bye," said his mother.

On the second night he went again to Lisnáyan and he used his power so that all the young girls, were hot again so that they went to the spring. When he looked up where there were many betel-nuts he saw Aponibolinayen taking a bath. "I did not see you when you left me Aponibolinayen," said Aponitolau. "Now I am going to take you home." "No, do not take me for my brother will hate me. I do not want to go to your house." He took her to his town of Kadalayapan and he sent his mother to Natpangan to tell Aponibalagen that Aponibolinayen was in Kadalayapan. Not long after his mother Langa-an took her skirt and her hat which was like a bird and when she arrived at the gate of Kaodanan Sinogyaman was dipping water from the spring. "Niece Sinogyaman, where is the ford?" "Look there at the shallow place, for it is the ford." She took off her belt and she spread it on the water, and she rode on it to the other side, and then she took a bath. When she finished bathing she stood on a high stone and the drops of water from her body were agate beads with no holes. "How strange, the people of Kadalayapan are. They are very different from us," said the women who were dipping water from the spring. Not long after Langa-an put on her skirt, and when she finished she said, "Are you not finished dipping water, Sinogyaman? I want you to guide me to the house of my nephew Aponibalagen, for I have forgotten the way, for I have not been here for a long time." "No, I am not through, but I will show you the way, Aunt," said Sinogaman, and she guided her.

When they reached the yard of Aponibalagen, "Good morning, Nephew." "Good morning, Aunt," he said to her. "Come up." Not long after she went up the stairs. "What are you coming here for, Aunt?" "What are you coming here for? you say. I come because I wish to see you." Not long after he went to get *basi*, and he had made her drink. When they had drunk, she said, "The other reason I came here, Nephew Aponibalagen, is that Aponitolau sent me, for he wishes to marry your sister." "I have no sister. I do not know what my mother did with her," he replied. "We have no daughter. Aponibalagen is our only child," said Ebang. While they were still talking they kept on drinking the *basi*. When the old woman Langa-an became drunk she told them that Aponibolinayen was

in Kadalayapan, and Aponibolagen was surprised and his heart jumped. "I went to hide Aponibolinayen in Lisnáyan so that no one would see her, but now someone has found her." So Langa-an gave them the engagement present<sup>1</sup> and she asked how much they must pay as the marriage price. "You must fill the *balaua* nine times," they answered. So Langa-an filled the *balaua* nine times with different kinds of valuable things. As soon as she had paid the marriage price she went back home. When she arrived in Kadalayapan and reached the top of the ladder of the house she laid down and slept, for she was drunk. "How strange you act, mother. Why don't you tell us the news before you sleep?" said Aponitolau, and she said, "The engagement and marriage gifts were accepted."

In the afternoon they began to make *Sayang*.<sup>2</sup> Not long after the old woman Alokotán, who conducted the *Sayang* and made them dance *Da-eng*,<sup>3</sup> arrived and she began to perform the ceremony. When it became morning, "You people who live with us, come and pound rice," said Aponibolinayen. So the people gathered and pounded rice for them. As soon as they finished pounding rice she commanded her *liblibayan*<sup>4</sup> to go and get betel-nuts. When they arrived with the betel-nuts, "You betel-nuts come and oil yourselves and go to invite all our relatives, for we are making *Sayang*. Invite all the people except the old enemies," she said and when it became evening they made *Libon*.<sup>5</sup>

Asibowan was anxious to chew betel-nut and she went to search for one in the corner of her house and she found an oiled nut which was covered with gold. When she tried to cut it in two it said to her. "Do not cut me, for I came to invite people to attend the *Sayang* of Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen." And Asibowan said, "I cannot go." "If you do not come I will grow on your knee," said the betel-nut. "No, go on my big pig." So the betel-nut jumped on the head of her pig and it grew very high, and the pig squealed. "Get off from my pig and I will come," said Asibowan. Late in the afternoon they saw her below the *talagan*.<sup>6</sup> "Asibowan is here now, Aponibolinayen, come and see her," said Aponitolau. So Aponibolinayen came and she took her to their house, and Iwaginan took two skirts and he made them dance. He danced first with Asibowan before he made the others dance and his wife

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 13, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 14, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 13, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Small covered benches built during the *Sayang* ceremony for the use of spirits and mortals.

Gimbagonan was jealous. When they finished dancing he gave the skirts to Aponibalagen and Sinagayan. As soon as Aponibalagen had finished Iwaginan made Aponitolau dance with Gimbagonan. While they were dancing Gimbagonan danced to the sound of the jars which she had about her neck and in her hair, i.e., she had necklaces of big jars and they stuck together so she could not hear the *gansas*. Not long after Asibowan wished to go back home. "Now I am going home, Aponibolinayen, for no one is watching my house." "No, do not go yet, for someone wants to marry your daughter Binaklingan." "I must go now, you take care of her." So she went back home and they did not see her. As soon as the *Sayang* was over Dina-ogan was engaged to Binaklingan. Soon he paid the marriage price, and it was the *balaua* filled nine times with valuable things.

Not long after all the people went back to their homes, and Aponibalagen was left alone and he acted as if he was drunk, but he was not drunk. He laid down in the *balaua*, and Aponibolinayen covered him with blankets. Not long after Aponigawani went outdoors for she felt hot, and Aponibalagen peeped at her. Not long after she went inside of the house and went into the ninth room, and Aponibalagen watched her. When it became night Aponibalagen went to the place where she was and Aponitolau did not see him. So he looked for her in the ninth room, and she was playing the pan pipe. While she was playing she saw a firefly, and she tried to hit it with her pan pipe, and Aponibalagen said "Do not strike me or you will hit my headaxe, and he became a man again. "How did you get in here?" said Aponigawani." "I came, because I saw you when I was lying in the *balaua*. He sat down beside her and tried to cut a betel-nut for her to chew. "We will chew betel-nut so we can tell our names," said Aponibalagen. She took the betel-nut and they chewed. "You tell your name first, for you live here." "No it is not good for me to tell my name first, for I am a woman. You are the first." "My name is Aponibalagen who is the brother of Aponibolinayen who is the son of Pagbokasan of Kaodanan." "My name is Aponigawani who is the sister of Aponitolau who is the daughter of Pagatipanan and Langa-an."

When they had been in the room nine nights Aponitolau went to see Aponigawani, and when he got to the room Aponibalagen was there. "Why are you here, brother-in-law?" said Aponitolau. "I am here, because I wish to marry your sister," said Aponibalagen. "If you want to marry her you must engage her and you come another day to make *pakalon*.<sup>1</sup> Not long after Aponibalagen went

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 11.

home and told his father and mother that they would go next day to make the *pakálon* so he could marry Aponigawani. Aponitolau and his father and mother went to Kaodanan and took the marriage price before Aponibalagen and his people made the *pakálon*. Aponibalagen paid the same as Aponitolau did for Aponibolinayen. Not long after they returned to Kadalayapan and the next day Aponibalagen went and got Aponigawani. They danced for one month and then they took Aponigawani to Kaodanan, and all the people went home. This is all.

(Told by Lagmani, a woman of Patok.)

## 5

Mother Dinawágan go and engage me to someone, for I want to be married. I like the sister of Aponibalagen of Natpangan" said Gawigawen of Adasin. "Yes," said his mother. So she took her hat which looked like the moonbeam and she started to go and when she arrived in Natpangan she said, "Good morning, nephew Aponibalagen." "What do you want here, Aunt?" he replied. "What do you want, you say, and I want to talk with you." "Come up, Aunt, and we will hear what you have to say." So he asked his mother Ebang to prepare food. As soon as Ebang had prepared the food and called them to eat, Aponibalagen went to get the *basi* and they drank before they ate. And Ebang broke up the fish stick and put it in the pot and it became fish.<sup>1</sup> Not long after they ate, and when they had finished Aponibalagen said to Dinawágan, "Come and see this." "No, I better stay here." When Aponibalagen urged her she came in and he opened the *basi* jar which was nine times inherited and as soon as they had drank Dinawágan said that she could not tarry for it was afternoon, "I have something to tell you, Aponibalagen." "What is it?" said Aponibalagen. "My son Gawigawen of Adasin wants to marry your sister." Aponibalagen agreed, so she gave a golden cup which looked like the moon as an engagement present, and they agreed on a day for *pakálon*.<sup>2</sup> Aponibalagen said, "Tomorrow will be the day for *pakálon*."

Dinawágan went home. "Did they accept our golden cup which looks like the moon, mother?" asked Gawigawen. "Yes. Tomorrow will be the *pakálon*," said the mother. "Not long after she said, "All you people who live in the same town with us, prepare to go to the *pakálon* of Gawigawen in Natpangan tomorrow afternoon." The people agreed and in the morning they truly started and they went. "You, my

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 11.

jar *bilibili* which always salutes the visitors, go first; and you my jar *ginlasan* follow, and you *malayo* and *iadogan* and you *gumtan*.”<sup>1</sup> So they went first to Natpangan, and Gawigawen and the people followed them, and also eighteen young girls who were Gawigawen’s concubines went also.

Not long after they arrived in Natpangan and Iwaginan and the other people went to attend the *pakalon*, and also many people from the other towns. When all whom they had invited arrived they agreed how much Gawigawen should pay for his wife. Aponibalagen told them to fill the *balaua*<sup>2</sup> eighteen times with valuable things. So the *balaua* was filled. Not long after they ate and when they had finished they went to the yard and they played on *gansas* and danced. Iwaginan took the skirts and gave one to Nagten-ngaeyan of Kapanikiyan and they danced.<sup>3</sup> When she danced she looked like the spindle. She did not go around, but always moving and the water from the river went up into the town and the striped fishes bit her heels. Not long after they stopped dancing and Gimbagonan was jealous and she said “Ala, give me the skirt and I will dance next.” “Do not say that Gimbagonan, for it is shameful for us,” he answered her. Not long after he gave the cloth to Dakandokan of Pakapsowan. She danced with Algaba of Dagala. Not long after they finished dancing and Iwaginan made Aponibolinayen and Balogaygayan dance. He often went to fight in the enemies towns. Not long after Aponibolinayen went down from the house and the sunshine vanished when she appeared. She danced with Balogaygayan and when she moved her feet the water from the river went up again into the town and the fish bit at her heels as they did before. After they stopped Iwaginan made his wife Gimbagonan dance and she was happy when she danced with Aponibalagen. When they danced the big jars around Gimbagonan’s neck made more noise than the *gansas* and the jars said “Kitol, kitol, kanitol, inka, inka, inkantol.”

As soon as they finished dancing the people said, “The best thing to do is to go home, for we have been here three months now.” “We will take Aponibolinayen” said Dinawagan to the people who lived in the same town with her and she spoke to Aponibalagen. So they prepared rice and coconut soaked together and wrapped in leaves, and a cake made of rice flour and coconut shaped like a tongue, a rice cake, which was fried for Aponibolinayen’s provision on the road. “You who live in the other towns who were invited, do not go home yet for we are going

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<sup>1</sup> Each type of jar has its special name.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> This was the *tadek*. See p. 11, note 3.



to take Aponibolinayen to Adasin," said Aponibalagen. Soon it became morning and they all went to Adasin and Gimbagonan carried two big baskets of cakes, and while they were walking she ate all the time and she ate half of them. When they arrived at the spring of Gawigawen of Adasin, they were surprised, for it was very beautiful and its sands were of beads, and the grass they used to clean pots with was also beads and the place where the jars sat was a big dish.<sup>1</sup>

Go and tell Gawigawen that he must come here and bring an old man, for I am going to take his head and make a spring for Aponibolinayen," said Aponibalagen. So someone went and told Gawigawen to bring the old man Taōdan with him to the spring. So Aponibalagen cut off his head and he made a spring and the water from it bubbled up and the body became a big tree called Alangīgan<sup>2</sup> which used to shade Aponibolinayen when she went to the spring to dip water, and the blood of the old man was changed to valuable beads. Not long after they went up to the town and the place where they walked — from the spring to the ladder of the house — was all big plates. Gimbagonan sat below the house ladder, because they were afraid the house could not hold her, for she was a big woman, and she hated them and she said to Iwaginan, "Why do you put me here?" "We put you there because we are afraid that you will break the house and give a bad sign to the boy and girl who are to be married."<sup>3</sup>

Aponibolinayen covered her face all of the time and she sat down in the middle of the house, for Indiápan said that she must not uncover her face for her husband Gawigawen had three noses, and she was afraid to look at him.<sup>4</sup> But Gawigawen was a handsome man. Aponibolinayen believed what Indiápan had told her. Not long after Dinawágan spread the string of agate beads along the floor where Aponibolinayen sat.<sup>5</sup> After a month they were still there and the people from the other towns wished to go home, and Aponibalagen said to Aponibolinayen, "Ala, be good to your husband and uncover your face. We are going back home now." But Aponibolinayen would not uncover her face. Not long after all the people went back to their towns and Aponibolinayen's mother-in-law commanded her to go and cook. She did not uncover her face, but always felt when she went about, and when she had cooked, she refused to eat, but Gawigawen and his father

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<sup>1</sup> Similiar ideas appear in tales from Borneo. See p. 15, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ilangilang*.

<sup>3</sup> It is still considered a bad sign if anything falls or breaks at a wedding.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Gawigawen had not been present at the *pakálon*. Such a condition frequently exists nowadays.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 12, 128.

and mother ate. When Gawigawen went to Aponibolinayen at night she changed to oil, and she did that every night, and they put the carabao hides under her mat so the oil would not drop to the ground. On the fifth night she used magic so that they could not see her go out and she dropped her beads under the house and then she became oil and dropped her body. So she went away and always walked and Gawigawen looked for her, for a long time. He went to Natpangan for he could not find her in any of the towns.

When Aponibolinayen was in the middle of the jungle she met a wild rooster which was crowing. "Where are you going Aponibolinayen?" it said to her. "Why are you walking in the middle of the jungle?" and Aponibolinayen said, "I came here for I am running away from my husband for I do not want to be married to him for he has three noses." "No, Gawigawen is a handsome man. I often see him, for this is where he comes often to snare chickens. Do not believe what Indiápan said to you, for she is crazy," said the rooster. Not long after she walked on and she reached the place of many big trees and the big monkey met her and said, "Where are you going, Aponibolinayen?" And she answered, "Where are you going, you say. I am running away because I do not want to marry Gawigawen." "Why don't you wish to marry Gawigawen?" "Because Indiápan told me he has three noses." The monkey laughed and said, "Do not believe that. Indiápan wants to marry Gawigawen herself. He is a handsome man." Aponibolinayen walked on and soon she reached a wide field and she did not know where she was. She stopped in the middle of the field and she thought she would go on to the other side.

Not long after she reached the ocean and she sat down on a log and a carabao came along. It passed often where she sat. Aponibolinayen thought she would ride on the carabao, and she got on its back and it took her to the other side of the ocean. When they reached the other side Aponibolinayen saw a big orange tree with much fruit on it. The carabao said, "Wait here while I eat grass and I will return soon." Aponibolinayen said, "Yes," but the carabao went to the place of the man who owned him and said, "Come over here, for there is a good toy for you." And Kadayadawan of Pintagayan said, "What is it?" "Come, hurry," said the carabao. So he combed his hair and oiled it and put on his striped coat and his clout and belt, and he took his spear and he rode on the carabao's back. Not long after Kadayadawan saw the pretty girl in the orange tree and he said, "How pretty she is!" And the carabao said, "That is the toy I told you about."

When they reached the orange tree Aponibolinayen heard him when he stuck his spear in the ground and she looked down and saw a hand-

some man. "Good morning, lady," he said. "Good morning," answered Aponibolinayen. Not long after they chewed betel-nut and they told their names. "My name is Kadayadawan of Pintagayan who is the son of an *alan*."<sup>1</sup> "My name is Aponibolinayen of Natpangan, who is the daughter of Pagbokásan and Ebang, who is the sister of Aponibalagen." Their betel-nut quids became agate beads and Kadayadawan said to her, "Ala, it is good for us to marry. I am going to take you home." So he took her to his home and he was good to his carabao, because it had found him a pretty woman. When they reached the house he put her in a room, and the *Ati*<sup>2</sup> commanded the soldiers to call Kadayadawan. When they reached the yard of Kadayadawan's house they called "Good morning." And he looked out of the window and said, "What do you want?" "We came, because the king wants you and we came to get you." So they started and went. When they arrived where the king was, "Why Kadayadawan have you a pretty girl in your house? Every night I notice that your house appears as if it were burning." "No, I have not," answered Kadayadawan. "I think you have, for I notice the flames every night." "No, I have not. Where would I find a pretty woman?"<sup>3</sup>

Not long after he went back home. When he reached home Aponibolinayen said to him, "It is best for us to make *Sayang*."<sup>4</sup> And Kadayadawan asked, "How do we make *Sayang* by ourselves? Our neighbors are all soldiers." "Do not worry about that, I will see," said Aponibolinayen. Not long after Kadayadawan took the betel-nuts and they oiled them and they sent them to the towns of their relatives to invite them to their *balaua*. The betel-nuts went. Aponibolinayen told Kadayadawan to go and get *molave* sticks. When he arrived with them Aponibolinayen used magic and she said, "I use magic so that when I thrust the *molave* stick in the ground it will become a *balaua*." Not long after the stick became a *balaua*.

The betel-nuts arrived in Natpangan and said to Aponibalagen, "We came to call you, for Kadayadawan of Pintagayan is making *balaua*." Aponibalagen said, "How can we attend the *balaua* when we are searching for my sister?" "If you do not wish to come I will grow on your knee." "Go on my pig." So the betel-nut grew on the pig, and it was so high the pig could not carry it and it squealed very much. "Ala, get off from the pig and we will come." So

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<sup>1</sup> A minor spirit.

<sup>2</sup> King or ruler.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be a late unconnected, intrusion into the tale. The *ati* and soldiers are entirely foreign to the Tinguian.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 12.

the betel-nut got off and they started. "All you people who live in the same town come with me to attend the *balaua* of Kadayadawan of Pin-tagayan." So they went. They arrived at the same time as Gawigawen of Adasin and they met near to the river. Not long after Kadayadawan saw them by the river and he sent the betel-nuts to carry the people across the river. When they were in the middle of the river Kadayadawan used his power so that their old clothes, which they wore in mourning for Aponibolinayen were taken off from them, and they were surprised, for they did not know when their old clothes had been taken off.

When they reached the other side Aponibalagen said to the people who lived with Kadayadawan. "We are ashamed to come up into the town, for we have no clothes." Then the betel-nuts told Kadayadawan and he said, "Ala, go and tell them that I will come and bring some clothes for them." Not long after he arrived where they were and he gave them some clothes to use. "Ala, take these clothes and use them, and come up to the town." But Aponibalagen and his companions were ashamed. Kadayadawan urged them until they accepted the clothes.

Soon they reached the town and they danced and Iwaginan and Nagten-ngëyan danced again and the water from the river went up into the town and the fish bit her feet. Not long after that they stopped dancing and Iwaginan made Gawigawen and Aponibolinayen dance. While they were dancing Gawigawen watched Aponibolinayen, and when they had danced around nine times Gawigawen seized her and put her in his belt.<sup>1</sup> "Why do you do that Gawigawen?" said Kadayadawan to him, and he threw his spear and Gawigawen fell down and Aponibolinayen escaped and Kadayadawan put her in a room. As soon as he put her in the room he went to bring Gawigawen back to life. Not long after he revived him, "Why did you do that, Gawigawen? I did not steal Aponibolinayen from you." And Gawigawen said, "Even if you did steal Aponibolinayen from me, she was my wife and I could not find her until now. That is why I put her in my belt, and Aponibalagen knows that she is my wife." And Kadayadawan said, "She is my wife now."

Not long after the *alan* who took care of Kadayadawan told Langan "Kadayadawan is your son. I picked him up when he was only blood which fell from you."<sup>2</sup> "Why do you say that you are not my mother?" said Kadayadawan to the *alan*. Langan said to the *alan*, "It is good if he is my son." They were very happy and they said to Aponibalagen, "Now we will pay the marriage price and also the price which Gawiga-

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<sup>1</sup> This incident is frequently found in these tales. It also occurs in Javanese literature. See BEZMER. *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 47. (Haag, 1904).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 15.

wen paid before, we will repay to him." Aponiblagen agreed, "You fill my *balaua* nine times with valuable things." Not long after they filled the *balaua* nine times with valuable things and they repaid Gawigawen what he had paid when he married Aponibolinayen. When they had paid they danced again. "Ala, now we must go home, for we have staid here a month," said the people from the other towns. So they went home and they took Aponibolinayen's marriage price.

"Ala, now my cousin *alan*, we are going to take Aponitolau<sup>1</sup> home for you have said he is our son," and the *alan* said, "Yes, take all of my things. I took him for I had no children to inherit my possessions." So they took them to Kadalayapan. The *alan* went to the other part of the world, and Langa-an used magic so that the golden house which the *alan* gave to Aponitolau went to their town of Kadalayapan. Not long after the golden house arrived and the people were surprised when they woke up in the morning and saw the big golden house. Not long after Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen and their father arrived there.

(Told by Magwati of Lagangilang.)

## 6

There was a woman whose name was Ginambo of Gonigonan, who went to fight Aponibolinayen of Kaodanan. When she reached the place where the spring was she said, "You people who are dipping water from the spring, whose place is this where the spring is?" "It belongs to Aponibolinayen of Kaodanan," they said and when they went up to the town they raised a clamor. "What are you so noisy about, you women who are like me?" said Aponibolinayen. "You ask why we are noisy? Because there are many women, who have come to fight against you, at the place where the spring is," they said, and Aponibolinayen hurried to take her spear. "What are you so noisy for, women like Aponibolinayen?" asked her father Pagatipanan. "What are we noisy about, you ask? Because there are many of my enemies at the spring." "Do not go Aponibolinayen, for I will go." "No for you are weak. What can you do now? Once you did kill people in the place where the spring is, and now perhaps it is my fortune," she said, and she went to the spring. She looked down and truly the enemies looked like many locusts about the spring." "Ala," said Ginambo of Gonigonan, "You people who live with me, you are anxious to carry away this woman whom we do not like." "Yes," they answered, "but only our names will go back to the towns we came from," i.e. they expected to be killed. Ginambo answered, "No, we are anxious to capture her without fail."

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<sup>1</sup> Kadayadawan is re-named Aponitolau by his new-found parents.

Aponibolinayen said, "You old enemy take this betel-nut," and she cut it in two and gave it to them. "How are we sure Ginambo of Gonigonan that only our names will not go back, we are afraid." Ginambo said, "Do not be afraid, but hurry to be brave." "Ala, now do what you can," shouted Aponibolinayen who stood on a high rock. When they started toward Aponibolinayen their spears looked like rain they were so many. She glanced off the spears with both elbows. "Now I am the next to throw my spears," said Aponibolinayen. "Yes, because all our weapons are gone," they said.

Aponibolinayen was next, she said, "I will use my magic, and you, my spear, shall kill six and seven at one time, and you, my headaxe, cut off their heads from the left side and from the right side, and in back and in front." "Ala, you spare me so that I may tell the people in Gonigonan where I live," said Ginambo. "Yes, but next month I will come to your town Gonigonan to fight," said Aponibolinayen.

Ginambo went home alone to her town. "Why are you alone?" asked the people who lived in the same town when she arrived. "What can we do, all my companions who went to fight are lost, because they did not throw their spears at Aponibolinayen." "That is what we told you Ginambo of Gonigonan when you started, but you did not heed, you know that the people of Kaodanan are powerful like Kabonīyan."<sup>1</sup>

Soon after that Gináwan of Nagtinawan said, "You people who live in the same town in which I live, let us go to fight Aponigawani of Kadalayapan." "No, we do not wish to go, because the people who live in Kadalayapan are powerful like Kabonīyan. We do not know whether she has a brother or not though someone has said that Aponigawani has no brother." "No we go," said Gináwan. "If that is what you say, we will go," said the people. So they went and they walked and walked until they reached the spring at Kadalayapan. Gináwan said, "You women who are dipping water from the spring, to whom does it belong?" "To Aponigawani," they said. Gináwan said, "Ala, you go and tell your bravest that we fight with steel weapons." The women who dipped water from the well said, "We do not know who is the bravest, whom we should tell, for Aponigawani has no brother." They went up to the town, and said, "Uncle Pagbokasan the place about the spring is filled with enemies." Then Aponigawani was in a hurry to go. "Do not go you will kill somebody," said her father. "No, father, the spring will be lost and then what can we do? Father, I am a woman and since I have no brother, perhaps it is my fortune to fight, for you are weak."

She took her skirt, headaxe, and spear and she went to the edge of

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<sup>1</sup> A powerful spirit.

the hill above the spring. She looked and looked at the place where the spring was for truly the enemies were thick like locusts about the well. "What did you come for?" she asked. "We come to fight the people who live in Kadalayapan, because we have heard that the woman who is always in the house<sup>1</sup> has no brother, so we have come to carry her away," they said. "Ala, if you wish to prove her bravery you take this betel-nut." She cut it in two pieces and gave it to them. "We asked you to excuse us from going Gináwan," they said. "Ala, you begin and see what you can do," said Aponīgawanī who stood on a high stone and she stood with her hands on her hips while they threw their weapons. "Now, I am next," she said. "You, my spear, when I throw you, kill at once seven and six; and you, my headaxe, cut off their heads from the left and right sides, from in back and in front." When Aponīgawanī had killed all of them except Gináwan and she had all their weapons, Gináwan said, "Please, my friend, let me live so that someone may go back to the town we came from." "Ala, yes, if that is what you ask, my friend, but I will come next to your town," she said, and Gináwan went home alone. Not long after that the month which they had agreed on came.

"Now, mother, go and make cakes and after that I will go to fight," said Aponibolinayen. "Do not go," said her mother Ebang of Kaodanan, but she could not detain her, so she made the cake, and when she finished, Aponibolinayen went.

"Mother, make preparations for me to go to war, for this is the month we agreed upon with Gináwan of Nagtinawan," said Aponīgawanī to her mother Langa-an of Kadalayapan.

Bye and bye Aponibolinayen who was walking in the middle of the road, stopped because she was tired. Aponīgawanī was also walking and when she looked up she saw a woman to whom none compared, and she was startled, and she said, "Here is a woman who looks like me. I do not like to approach her who looks like me, yet I am ashamed not to do so, for she has seen me," she said. "Good morning," said Aponīgawanī to Aponibolinayen who sat on a high stone by the road. They leaned their spears together between them and then they talked. "Now, my friend, where are you going," said Aponibolinayen. "I am going to war," said Aponīgawanī. "And where are you going?" said Aponīgawanī to Aponibolinayen. "I am going to Gonigonan, because the month which I agreed upon with Ginambo of Gonigonan has come," said Aponibolinayen. "Ala, let us chew betel-nut." "Yes, if that is what you say, we will chew betel-nut," said Aponīgawanī. After that they

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 54, note 2.

exchanged quids. And the quid which had been chewed by Aponīgawani was covered with agate beads which are called *pīnogalan*, and the quid of Aponibolinayen was covered with gold. Aponīgawani said, "You are more beautiful and have more power than I, because your betel-nut is covered with gold." After that they spat in front of them. The place looked like the place where a child had been born. "Now, my friend, we are going to tell our names." "Yes," said each one, and they told their names. "I am Aponibolinayen of Kaodanan who has no brother, and Ginambo of Gonigonan came to fight against me and the month in which we agreed to fight has come, so I go meet her." "I go also to the town of Gináwan of Nagtinawan, because the month which we agreed on has arrived, my name is Aponīgawani of Kadalayapan who also has no brother." "If that is what you are going to do, we will go first to Gonigonan, then we will go to the town of Nagtinawan," said Aponibolinayen to her. "If that is what you say we will both go." So they went.

Not long after they arrived at Gonigonan. "Now, Ginambo of Gonigonan I am here because the month which we agreed has come." "You people who live in the same town with me prepare, because the woman who always stays in the house in Kaodanan has come to fight against us," said Ginambo. "Yes, Ginambo, we will fight against her. We told you not to go against her before, because the people of her town are related to Kaboniyan. We do not know what magic they may use," they said. "Now, what can we do, we are lost." After that they began to fight. "Ala, you my spears and headaxes kill the people from the left and the right sides, from in back and in front," said Aponibolinayen and Aponīgawani.

As soon as they commanded their spears and headaxes their invisible helpers flew and they went to Dangdangáyan of Naglitnan. "Oh, sir, you are so happy, who are in bed in the house. The people who live in Gonigonan have nearly killed your sister, because she went to fight against them," said the helpers. After that he went to bathe and wash his hair. "Ala, you three girls take the rice straw and wash my hair," he said, and the three girls washed his hair. After that he finished to wash and he went up to the town. As soon as they arrived in the town the three girls combed his hair. When they finished to comb his hair, "Now, you put little golden beads on each of my hairs," he said. As soon as they put all the gold in his hair he took his spear and headaxe and he went.

Lingiwan of Nagtangpan was in bed in his house. "Sir, you are so happy in your bed in your house, your sister went to fight and the enemies have nearly killed her," said the invisible spirit helpers. Mother



*alan* I ask you if I have a sister? I never have seen her." "What can you do? I picked you up where you had fallen when your father was jealous of your mother,"<sup>1</sup> she said. After that he hurried to start and he went.

When Dangdangáyan of Naglitnan was in the road, he sat down on a high stone where the two women had set before. How terrible it is that those women who never go out of the house have gone to war, for here is where they exchanged their weapons." While he was sitting, "Good morning, my friend," said Lingīwan of Nagtangpan. "Where are you going?" said the man who sat on the high stone. "I am going anywhere," he answered, and they talked. "We are going to tell our names, because it is bad for us when we do not know each others names." They cut and chewed the betel-nut. As soon as they chewed they found that they were relatives. "My name is Lingīwan of Nagtangpan." "My name is Dangdangáyan of Naglitnan. Let us go together when we go to fight." After that they went. When they truly arrived they looked into the town, they saw the two women who looked like flames of fire, because of their beauty. "How terrible that those ladies who always stay in the house have gone to war," they said. After that they went to them, and the people whom they killed were so many that the pig troughs floated in their blood. So they went to them. When the women saw them they said, "How terrible are those two rich men who have power." After that, "Oh, ladies how were you born," they said. "Why are you here you ask? Ginambo came to fight against us, that is why we are here in the town of Gonīgonan." So Dangdangáyan went in front of them, and he scooped them up with his headaxe and put them inside of his belt.<sup>2</sup> After that the two men fought against the enemies. "Please leave someone to bear children," said Ginambo of Gonīgonan. "If that is what you ask we will kill you last," they said and she begged mercy.

"Now we will go to Nagtinawan which is the town of Gináwan, with whom Aponīgawanī agreed to fight this month." After that, "You plunder and heads go before us to Kadalayapan, when you arrive at the gate you divide equally and part of you go to Kaodanan." So they went to Nagtinawan. When they arrived in Nagtinawan, "You Gináwan of this town now the agreed month is here." "How are you Gináwan? We told you not to go before and you went; now we will all be killed," said the people who lived in the same town. "Now we seek vengeance." They looked as if they cut down banana trees when they cut down their

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<sup>1</sup> The story teller paused here to explain that his mother did not know that she was pregnant, and that a miscarriage had occurred.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 63, note 1.

enemies. "Please spare me, and if you wish marry me," said Gináwan. "If that is what you say we will kill you last," but they did not kill her.

After that they went home and sent all the heads before them and also the plunder. After that they arrived in Kaodanan. "Good afternoon, Uncle," said Dangdangáyan to old man Pagbokásan. "Come up the ladder," he said. "You go and cook so that these boys may eat," he said. After that, "You go and get one jar of *basi* which you used to like when you were young," said his wife Ebang. As soon as she said this they went and they drank, and Pagbokásan said to them. "This is reserved for Aponíbolinayen to drink when she returns from fighting."

When the old woman had finished cooking, she took the rice from the jar and put it on the woven basket, and she took the meat from the jar and put it in the coconut shells, and so they ate. As soon as they finished to eat, "Now we are not going to stay long, because we must go home," they said. So Dangdangáyan dropped down the women who never go out of the house. "Why Aponíbolinayen is here and Lingtwan also," they said. Dingowan of Nagtangpan took Aponíbolinayen and put her inside of a big jar; then they went to Kadalayapan, because they went to take Aponígawani. When they arrived they said, "Good afternoon Uncle," to the old man Pagatipánan. "Good morning," he answered, and he was glad. "Come up," he said. When they went up the stairs they were given *basi*. While they were drinking they let Aponígawani fall in front of them, and they were all glad, because Aponígawani was there. "How fine that Aponígawani is here; we feared that she was lost," said the old man and woman. "Ala, boys if you go home now, return soon for we are going to chew betel nut.

As soon as they went *Lakay*<sup>1</sup> Pagatipánan and his wife built *balaua*, and they called one woman medium<sup>2</sup> to begin their *balaua*. As soon as they built their *balaua* they sent someone to go and secure betel-nuts which were covered with gold. Not long after the betel-nuts which were covered with gold arrived and the old woman Langa-an oiled them, and she used magic so that the betel-nuts went to invite all their relatives, who lived in other towns, to attend *balaua* with them. She told the betel-nuts that if any did not wish to attend *balaua* with them, to grow on their knees. As soon as she commanded them they went, and the betel-nut which went to Kaodanan arrived, "Good morning," it said to the old man, Pagbokásan who was lying in the *balaua*. He looked up and said, "Who was that," and he saw it was a betel-nut, covered with gold and oiled, and the betel-nut said, "I come to bid you attend the

<sup>1</sup> Head man.

<sup>2</sup> The term used is *alopogán*, which means "she who covers her face." For lack of a better designation we shall call her a medium. See p. 23.

*balaua* of Pagatipánan of Kadalayapan, because Aponigawanī has returned from fighting. So they celebrate." Pagbokásan sat up. After that he went down out of the *balaua* and the told people to wash their hair and clothes and to bathe so as to attend the *balaua* of Pagatipánan of Kadalayapan. So the people who lived with them all went to the river and washed their clothes and hair, and took a bath. As soon as they finished they went home, and they started to go to Kadalayapan. Old man Pagbokásan took Aponibolinayen from the jar, and put her inside of his belt, so they went.

As soon as they arrived there the families who made the *balaua* went to meet them at the gate of the town and made *alawig*<sup>1</sup> for them. After that they stopped dancing, and they talked to each other, and the two young men who met Aponibolinayen and Aponigawanī were with them, because they arrived at the same time. So the old man Pagatipánan said, "Ala, cousin Pagbokásan now we are going to chew betel-nut to see if those two young men who took home Aponigawanī are our relatives," and old man Pagbokásan agreed. So they cut the betel-nut which was covered with gold for them to chew and as soon as they cut the nut they all chewed, and they all spat. The spittle of Lingīwan went to the spittle of Pagatipánan, and the spittle of Aponigawanī, went there also. The spittle of Dangdangáyan went to the spittle of Pagbokásan and that of Aponibolinayen also, and thus they found out that they were relatives. Pagbokásan was surprised, for he did not know that he had a son, and Ebang took her son, and she carried him as if he was a baby. And Lingīwan was glad, because he had met his sister during the fight and Langa-an carried him as if a baby.

When they had learned that the boys who had carried the girls home were their sons they all went back to town, and their people who had been invited were there. As soon as they sat down Iwaginan commanded someone to play the *gansas* and he took the two skirts and made everyone dance. His wife Gintoban who was a big woman, who used the big jars like agate beads on her head and about her neck, said to Iwaginan, "Why don't you, my husband, bid me dance? I have been waiting for a very long time." Iwaginan said, "Gintoban do not say that or I shall be ashamed before the people. Wait until I am ready for you." As soon as Aponibolinayen and Lingīwan finished dancing Iwaginan took the skirts from them and he gave one to Gintoban and the other to Ilwisan, and so they danced. And the big jars which she had hung around her neck made a noise and the earth shook when she moved her body. As soon as they finished dancing the people who went to attend *Balaua*

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 41, note 2.

with them said, "Now we going to put the heads around the town and then go for it is nearly one month now and our families are lonesome for us." So they went to put the heads on the sticks around the town.

At that time the two *alan* who had picked up Lingīwan and Dangdangáyan arrived. They did not wish to attend *Balaua*, but the betelnut had grown on their heads and they had arrived very late. As soon as Lingīwan and Dangdangáyan saw them they took them back to the town. As soon as Pagatipánan knew that they were the *alan* who took care of the boys he summoned the people around the town. They danced for one month. After that Langa-an and Ebang went to talk with the two *alan*, and said to them, "We are surprised for we did not feel our sons come out." The *alan* said, "Lingīwan I picked up by the side of the road while you were walking, that is why you did not feel him; he was a little bloody when I picked him up, and I made him a man because I have no child to inherit all my things. Now that you found out that he is your son you come and take all my things in Kabinbinlan, as soon as the *Balaua* is finished. As soon as you will get all of them I will fly somewhere." So when the people went home, after the *Balaua* was finished, Lingīwan and Dangdangáyan went to follow their *alan* mothers. As soon as they arrived in the different places where the *alan* lived they gave them all the things which they had and they used their power so that all the things went to their town. When all the things arrived in Kadalayapan the people in the town were frightened, for there was a golden house. When the things arrived in Kaodanan the people were frightened for there were the valuable things which Dangdangáyan took with him.

After one month passed Lingīwan said to his father Pagatipánan, "You go and make *pakálon* for Aponibolinayen for I want to marry her." So his father sent his wife Langa-an to Kaodanan to tell to the father and mother of Aponibolinayen that Lingīwan wished to marry her. So Langa-an took her hat which looked like the *Salaksák*<sup>1</sup> and her new skirt. As soon as she dressed she started and went. When she arrived in Kaodanan Pagbokásan was lying down in his *balaua*. "Good morning," she said to him. Pagbokásan was a in hurry to sit up and he said to her, "I am glad to see you, what are you coming here for in the middle of the day." "What am I coming for you say? I am coming to see if you want Lingīwan for a son for he wishes to marry Aponibolinayen." Pagbokásan took her to his house and said to his wife, "Here is cousin Langa-an who came to see us." So Ebang told him that he should get some old *basi* for them to drink.

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<sup>1</sup> A bird.

As soon as they drank Ebang went to cook. As soon as she finished cooking they ate. After they finished eating they took the big coconut shell and filled it with *basi* and each of them drank, and they were all drunk, and Langa-an said, "I like to hear from you if you wish Lingīwan to be a son. Soon Pagbokásan and Ebang agreed. They decided on the day for *pakálon*. So Langa-an went home and when she arrived she laid down on the porch of the house for she was drunk, and Lingīwan saw her and waked her. "What is the matter with you?" he said. "I am drunk for Pagbokásan and Ebang urged me to drink much *basi*, so I was scarcely able to get home, that is why I slept on the porch." "Mother, you go into the house, do not sleep on the porch." So she went in and Lingīwan asked her the result of her visit to Kaodanan. "They accepted you and we agreed to make *pakálon* the day after tomorrow." So Lingīwan was glad, and went to tell the people about his marriage, and all the people prepared so that they might go.

As soon as the agreed day came they went to Kaodanan and they took many pigs and *basi* jars. When they arrived there Pagbokásan, who was the father of Aponibolinayen, and the other people were already there and had cooked many caldrons of rice and meat. Pagbokásan took the *gansa*<sup>1</sup> and he commanded someone to play and they danced. After that they ate. As soon as they finished to eat they played the *gansa* again and they danced. Iwaginan of Pindayan said, "Stop playing the *gansas* we are going to settle on how much they must pay for Aponibolinayen. As soon as we agree we will dance." And the people were quiet and they agreed how much Lingīwan was to pay. The father and mother of Lingīwan offered the *balaua* three times full of jars which are *malayo* and *tadogan* and *ginlasan*.<sup>2</sup> The people did not agree and they said, "Five times full, if you do not have that many Lingīwan may not marry Aponibolinayen." He was so anxious to marry her that he told his parents to agree to what the people said. As soon as they agreed Langa-an used magic so that all the jars which the people wanted were already in the *balaua* — five times full. As soon as they gave all the jars which they paid, Iwaginan ordered them to play the *gansas* and they danced. After they danced, all their relatives who went to attend *pakálon* were anxious to go home for they had been there one month. "Do not detain us, for we are one month here." So Pagbokásan let them go. Everyone carried home some jars and they all went home.<sup>3</sup> So Pagatipánan said to Pagbokásan, "Now that the *pakálon* is over we

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<sup>1</sup> Copper gong.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 59, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> It is the custom to distribute a part of the marriage price among the relatives of the bride.

will take Aponibolinayen, because Lingīwan wants her now." Pagbokásan said, "Do not take her now. You come and bring Lingīwan day after tomorrow." "If that is what you say we will bring him, if you will not let us take Aponibolinayen now.

When they started to go home Pagbokásan said to them, "Dangdangáyan wants to marry Aponīgawani who is your daughter." "You will wait until next month," said Langa-an. "After Aponibolinayen and Lingīwan are married, we will think first." Not long after the day on which they agreed to take Lingīwan to Aponibolinayen came, and he carried one jar.<sup>1</sup> As soon as they arrived there they made the rice ceremony.<sup>2</sup> When the ceremony was over Pagatipánan and Langa-an and the others went home and left Lingīwan.

As soon as they arrived in Kadalayapan Langa-an asked Aponīgawani if she wanted Dangdangáyan to be her husband. Aponīgawani said, "If you think it is good for me to be married now, and you think he is a good man for my husband it is all right, for he has magical power like us." As soon as the agreed month passed the parents of Dangdangáyan came to ask if they wished the marriage. They prepared a number of *basi* jars for them to drink from when they should arrive. When they arrived there Pagatipánan was prepared and he met them with the *basi* and they all drank. After that they told all the people who lived in their town that they were going to celebrate the arrival of Pagbokásan and his companions. "Ala, we do not stay long now, *Abaláyan*,<sup>3</sup> we want to know if you wish Dangdangáyan to be married to Aponīgawani. We will have a good time during *pakálon*," they said. After that Langa-an and Pagatipánan said, "Now the meal is ready. We are going to eat first and after that you will hear what we say." And Pagbokásan and Ebang did not wish to eat for they were in a hurry and only went to hear if they wished Dangdangáyan to be the husband of Aponīgawani. "If you do not wish to come and eat with us, we do not want Dangdangáyan to be married to Aponīgawani," they said. Then they all went to eat. After they ate, "Ala now that we have finished eating you excuse us, for we want to know if you wish Dangdangáyan to be married to Aponīgawani." Langa-an and Pagatipánan said, "You will come next month, we will make *pakálon*." So they went home and Dangdangáyan went to meet them at the gate of the town, and he asked at once, "Father and mother did they accept me?" He said, "Yes, if we can agree on what they want us to pay, and we have to go there next month." So

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<sup>1</sup> The groom's gift.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 11, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> The term which expresses the relationship established between the parents of the bride and groom.

Dangdangáyan was glad and told the people about it, and he invited them to go the next month to make *pakálon*.

As soon as the agreed month to go to Kadalayanpan came, they went. As soon as they arrived there they danced for one month. Lingíwan and Aponibolinayen had their golden house, which the *alan* had given them. The people agreed on how much they should pay for the *pakálon*, and Pagatipánan and Langa-an said, "Pay just the same as we paid for Aponibolinayen when Lingíwan married her." "If that is what you say, it is all right," they said. And Ebang used magic so that the *balaua* was five times full of jars which are *malayo*, *tadogan*, and *ginlasan*. So the *balaua* was filled five times, and each of the relatives who went to attend the *pakálon* took some jars. As soon as the *pakálon* was finished the people all went home, and Pagbokásan and Ebang said, "Ala, now that the *pakálon* is over let us take Aponígawanī," Langa-an answered, "If you make extra payment you can take Aponígawanī now," and Dangdangáyan said to his mother, "If they want the extra payment, ask them how much." Langa-an replied, "Another five times the *balaua* full," and Ebang said to her son, "We have to pay again the *balaua* five times full." "That is all right mother I have many jars which my *alan* mother gave me," so they gave the extra jars which they asked. As soon as they gave all the jars they took Aponígawanī of Kaodanan with them. As soon as they arrived they made a big party, and they invited the *alan*. As soon as the *alan* arrived at the party they danced and gave more presents to them. After that the *alan* and the other people went home and Aponígawanī and Dangdangáyan had their own house which the *alan* gave them. This is all.

(Told by Lagmani of Patok.)

## 7

Aponitolau told Aponibolinayen that they would go to the river to wash their hair. Not long after Aponibolinayen went with him. When they arrived at the spring they washed their hair. As soon as they washed their hair they went to get the *lawed*<sup>1</sup> vine and they went back home. As soon as they reached home Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "Will you comb my hair? I am anxious to go to fight." So Aponibolinayen combed his hair. As soon as she combed it he said, "Ala, you go and get my clout, my belt which is sewed with gold, and my striped coat, and also get my *ambosau*.<sup>2</sup> Aponibolinayen got them and Aponitolau dressed up. As soon as he was dressed he took his shield, his headaxe, and spear,

<sup>1</sup> *Piper sp.*

<sup>2</sup> A headband of beads or gold.

and went. He struck the side of his shield, and it sounded like one hundred people. While he was walking and striking his shield in the middle of the way, Gimbagonan, the wife of Iwaginan, heard him, when he was near to Pindayan. When he passed by the town he continued toward the town of Giambólan. In a short time he arrived at the well of Giambólan. He met the young girls who were dipping water from the well. He killed all of them with his headaxe and spear. Not long after he cut off their heads and he went up to the town and directly to the house of Giambólan. When he arrived at the house, he said, "Good morning, Giambólan. Go and get your shield, headaxe and spear, and boar's tusk armlet for we are going to fight here in your yard." Giambólan got his headaxe and spears for he wanted to fight. As soon as he arrived where Aponitolau was he threw his spears at him and Aponitolau soon got all the spears which he threw. Then he tried to cut off Aponitolau's head, but Aponitolau got his headaxe and said to him, "Now I am next, for you did not injure me at all, and Giambólan said, "Yes." Aponitolau commanded his headaxe and spear to go to Giambolan's side as soon as he threw them; so Giambolan laid down and the headaxe went and cut off Giambólan's ten heads.

As soon as Aponitolau had killed Giambólan he again commanded his spear and headaxe to cut off the heads of all the people in the houses and the headaxe and spear went and Aponitolau sat by the town waiting for them. As soon as the spear and headaxe had killed all the people who lived in the town they went back to him and Aponitolau said, "You heads of the people gather in one place, but you heads of Giambólan and you heads of the women be separate from the others. You gather by the house of Giambólan." Not long after all the heads gathered and he said again, "You heads of Giambólan go first, and you heads of the men precede the women. As soon as you arrive in Kadalayapan stop by the gate of the town. You house of Giambólan go directly to my house in Kadalayapan. Go with the big storm." So the house went. "You oranges of Giambólan come and follow us." So the oranges followed them. He told them to go in front of his house. They went and Aponitolau followed them, and the oranges followed him.

Not long after Aponitolau looked back and he saw the *alzados* following him, for they wished to kill him. As soon as he saw them he commanded his strike-a-light to become a high bank so the *alzados* could not follow him.<sup>1</sup> So the strike-a-light became a high bank, and the *alzados* were on the other side and could not follow him. Not long after he was near to Kadalayapan. As soon as he arrived there he found all

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 17, note 1.



the heads near the gate of the town and he said to them, "You heads of Gĩambólan stay by the well, and you heads of the people who lived with him gather here by the gate." He went to the town and told the people to gather by the gate and play the *gansas* and dance, and he commanded someone to invite their friends in other towns. Not long after the people from the other towns arrived in Kadalayapan, and the people who lived there were still dancing. Aponitolau danced with Danay of Kabisilan. The next was his son Kanag Kabagbagowan who danced with five young girls who never go outdoors. As soon as they had all danced they went to their towns. Then they put the heads around the town of Kadalayapan.

(Told by Magwati of Lagangilang.)

## 8

Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau were anxious to make *Sayang*,<sup>1</sup> so Aponitolau asked Aponibolinayen about his clout and his striped belt. "Well, you go and get them, for I am going to get the head of the old man To-ōdan of Kalaskigan before we make *Sayang*. So Aponibolinayen went to get his clout and belt. After that he oiled his hair and Aponibolinayen put a golden bead on each hair. Not long after he went to get his headaxe and spear. As soon as Aponibolinayen gave him his provisions for the journey, he started.

When he was in the middle of the way he became very tired, for it was far. So he used magic and he said, "I use my power so that I will arrive at once at the town of To-ōdan of Kalaskigan." Soon after he arrived in Kalaskigan. When he arrived at the yard beside the *balaua*<sup>1</sup> the old man was lying down. The old man saw him and said, "Eb, I have a man to eat." And Aponitolau said, "You will never eat me. Go and get your headaxe and spear, for you must fight with me. I will take your head before I make *Sayang*." The old man was angry and he stood up and went to get his headaxe and spear. "You are the only person who ever came in my town. Go on, and throw your spear, if you are brave," said To-ōdan. "If I am the first to throw my spear you will never have a chance to throw yours, for I will kill you at once. You better throw yours first," said Aponitolau. The old man was angry, and he threw his spear. But his spear glanced off from the body of Aponitolau, for he used his power so that everything glanced away from his body. The old man To-ōdan ran toward him and tried to cut off his head, but the headaxe could not cut Aponitolau, and the old man To-

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 12.

ōdan said to him, "You, truly, are a brave man, that was why you came to my town. Try and throw your spear at me, for if you can hit me it is all right, for I have killed many people." Aponitolau threw his spear at his side, and it went clear through his body and To-ōdan laid down. Aponitolau cut off his head.

Not long after Aponitolau went back home and Don Carlos of Kabai-ganan (Vigan)<sup>1</sup> was anxious to go and see Aponibolinayen. So he commanded his spirit companions to be ready to go with him to Kadalayapan. As soon as they were ready he said to them, "You go first, my companions, we are going to the town of Aponibolinayen, for I have heard that she is a pretty woman, and I wish to see her." Not long after they arrived at the river, and they got on to the raft. Soon they arrived at the well of Kadalayapan and Indiápan was dipping water from the well, and Don Carlos spoke to her. "Is this the well of Aponibolinayen?" Indiápan said, "Yes." "Will you go and tell her to come here and see what I have to sell?" Indiápan went up to the town and said "Aponibolinayen, Don Carlos wants you to see what he has to sell." "I don't wish to go and see what he has to sell." So Indiápan went back to the well and said to Don Carlos "Aponibolinayen does not wish to come, and she does not wish to buy what you have to sell." So he pondered what he should do. "The best thing for me to do is to go to their house to get a drink." So he went up to the town and said, "Good morning, Aponibolinayen, will you give me some water to drink? For a long time I have wished to drink your water." Aponibolinayen answered, "Why did you come from the well? Why did you not drink while you were there?" "I did not drink there, for I wished to drink of your water." Aponibolinayen did not give him any for she was afraid; then Don Carlos used magic so that she dropped her needle. The needle dropped and she said to him, "Will you hand the needle which I dropped to me, Don Carlos." So Don Carlos picked up the needle and he put a love charm on it, and he gave it to her.<sup>2</sup> Not long after Don Carlos wanted to go back home, but Aponibolinayen would not let him go, and she said, "Come up in the house." So he went up into the house.

Not long after Aponitolau shouted near to the town and he did not hear Aponibolinayen answer. As soon as he reached the gate of the town he shouted again, and she did not answer, for Don Carlos was with her. Not long after Don Carlos went home and Aponibolinayen saw his belt

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<sup>1</sup> Don Carlos was evidently an Ilocano, for his language is Ilocano and his residence Vigan. Other points indicate that the story has many recent additions.

<sup>2</sup> The use of love charms is not confined to the Tinguian and their Ilocano neighbors, but is known also by the tribes of the Malay Peninsula. See REYES, *Folklore, Filipino*, p. 50, (Manila, 1889); SKEAT and BLAGDEN, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. II, pp. 232, 262. (London, 1906.)

which he had left, for he was in a hurry. So she ran and got the ladder to the rice granary, and she hid the belt. Aponitolau met Don Carlos at the gate of the town and he asked him why he had gone into the town, and he answered, "I want to sell something." Not long after Aponitolau went to their house and asked Aponibolinayen why she did not reply to him when he shouted two times. "I did not answer, for I have a headache." "Why is the fastening on the door different from before?" "I don't know. No one came in." Not long after Aponitolau went up into the house. "Now, Aponibolinayen, I have taken the head of the old man To-ōdan of Kalaskigan. You command the people to begin to pound rice, for we will make *Sayang*."

Not long after Aponitolau saw a flame of fire in the rice granary and he said, "Why is there a fire in the rice granary?" So he ran to see. Not long after he went inside of the granary and he saw what it was. As soon as he saw that it was a golden belt he said, "I think this is the belt of the man who came here while I was gone." So he took it and hid it and did not let Aponibolinayen see it. Not long after they commanded the people to go and get betel-nuts. When they arrived with the fruit they oiled them and Aponitolau said, "Tell me whom we shall invite beside our relatives in the other towns." And Aponibolinayen told him to invite Don Carlos of Kabaiganan, for she wished always to see him. So they sent a betel-nut to go and get Don Carlos, and they sent one to the old woman Alokotán of Nagbotobotán and Awig of Natpangan and other towns.

Not long after the betel-nut reached the place where Don Carlos lived and it met his spirit helpers. As soon as the betel-nut reached Don Carlos, "Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen are making *Sayang*, and I came to invite you." "All right, you go first. I will dress and go after you," he said. Not long after he dressed up and went to follow the betel-nuts. Not long after all the other people from the other towns arrived where they were making *Sayang* and Aponitolau tried to put the belt on each person to see if it fitted and no one was the right size. As soon as Don Carlos arrived Aponitolau tried the belt on him and it was all right. So Aponitolau gave him the belt and he got a golden chair and he put it in the middle of the party and made Don Carlos sit on it. All of the people were dancing and Aponitolau went and sharpened his headaxe. Not long after, "Ala, you Aponibolinayen take Kanag and Alama-an with you and dance with Don Carlos." Not long after they danced. While they were dancing Aponitolau cut off the head of Don Carlos. The head sprang up and went to the breast of Aponibolinayen, and Aponibolinayen and Kanag and Alama-an ran away, and their clothes were torn, for they ran through many thorns.

Not long after the people who went to attend the *Sayang* went home, and Aponibolinayen and Kanag and Alama-an arrived in a level plain. They went to the shade of an *alosip*<sup>1</sup> tree and they sat there many days, for they were very tired. "I am anxious to drink water," said Aponibolinayen, and not long after they heard a rooster crowing. "I think we are near a town, for I hear a rooster crowing." So they went where they had heard the rooster. "We go and drink," said Aponibolinayen. Not long after they reached the place where *Silit* (one kind of lightning) and the dog *Kimat*<sup>2</sup> guarded. *Silit* and the dog were sleeping and did not see them go inside of the town. Soon they arrived in the yard of the golden house of Balbalaōga of Dona and they were ashamed to ask for water to drink, for they were naked. So they went to the *balaua* and slept, for they were tired.

While they were sleeping, Balbalaōga saw them in his *balaua*, and he was surprised, because no one was permitted to enter the town, for *Silit* and the dog prevented. He said, "What is the matter of the guards that they did not see those people enter the town? Perhaps they are my relatives." So he took some clothes to the *balaua* for them. He covered them with blankets while they slept. As soon as he covered them he sat down in the *balaua* and waited until they got up. As soon as Aponibolinayen awoke she saw him and said, "Do not wound us in many places, so we will not need to cure so much." Balbalaōga said, "If I were an enemy I would have killed you while you slept. We are going to chew betel-nut and see who you are." So he cut a betel-nut and gave to them, and their spittle was like agate beads. So he took them up into his golden house and told his mother *alan* to give them some clothes. Not long after they drank *basi*, after they had finished eating. All the *alan* were drunk and the mother of Balbalaōga of Dona said to them, "Aponibolinayen," Balbalaōga is your brother, for he was the after-birth of Awig, which they put in the *tabalang* which they sent down the stream.<sup>3</sup> So I picked him up, for I had no child to inherit all my things." Not long after they knew that they were brother and sister Balbalaōga asked his sister why they came to Dona without clothes. She said, "Aponitolau is jealous of Don Carlos and he cut off his head, and the head jumped to my breasts, so we were frightened and ran away. That is why we came here. I did not know I had a brother who lived here." The head still hung to the breasts of Aponibolinayen, but they had not seen it before, for she had covered it. As soon as she showed it to Balba-

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<sup>1</sup> *Antidesma ghesaembilla* Gaertn.

<sup>2</sup> Ordinary lightning.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 24, note 1.

laōga he took the head from her breasts and they sent some betel-nuts to go and summon their mother.

As soon as the betel-nut arrived in Kaodanan it said to Pagbokásan and Ebang, "Good morning. I came here for Balbalaōga, and his sister sent me to come and get you. So Ebang and Pagbokásan were surprised, because Aponibolinayen had another brother. So they called Awig and said to him, "Here is a betel-nut from Dona which Aponibolinayen and Balbalaōga sent, for they want to see us." Awig said to them, "I don't believe that Aponibolinayen is still alive, for we have searched for her a very long time, and I never heard of a place called Dona, and I have been all over the world."

They started and the betel-nut led them. "Where is Dona?" they said to the betel-nut. "Dona is somewhere. Follow me. You must step on the big dishes where I step." Not long after they arrived in the place where Balbalaōga lived and were surprised at the big golden house, and Balbalaōga and Aponibolinayen were watching them from the window, and they went to the yard of the house. Ebang and Pagbokásan did not believe that Balbalaōga was their son, so they chewed betel-nut. As soon as they chewed they found out that he was the after-birth of Awig. So Balbalaōga took them into his house.

Not long after Balbalaōga said to them, "Wait for me for awhile, for I am going to hunt deer." So he called his dogs who talked with the thunder, they were so big and also powerful. Not long after he went to the wood and the dogs caught three deer. He cut up the deer and took them back home.

Not long after Aponitolau heard that Aponibolinayen was with her brother in Dona. He went to follow her, for he intended to live with her again. Ebang and Pagbokásan took Balbalaōga and Aponibolinayen to Kaodanan, and they used their power so that all the things which the *alan* had given to Balbalaōga went to Kaodanan. Not long after the house and the other things which the *alan* had given went to Kaodanan, all the *alan* flew away. Not long after they made *balana* in Kaodanan, and they called all their relatives in the other towns and all of the *alan* who cared for Balbalaōga of Dona. After that all the people went to attend their *balana*. In that time Balbalaōga was married and Aponitolau was very sorry, because he could not remarry Aponibolinayen, and he went to the *balana* even though he was not invited. As soon as the *balana* was over, all the people went back home, but Balbalaōga did not go back to Dona. The *alan* flew away after he was married.

(Told by Magwati of Lagangilang).

## 9

Ayo went to the spring. When she went she met Dagdagalisit, who was fishing in the river. When she reached him she became pregnant. Not long after she went home. When she arrived in her house the space between the little finger and the next itched. "Bolinayen, you stick the needle in my finger where it itches. I do not know what makes it itch so," she said. As soon as Bolinayen stuck the needle the little baby popped out.<sup>1</sup> "What shall we name the baby?" "Dagoláyan will be his name." The baby shook his head, so they gave him the name Kanag.

Awig went to wash his hair in the spring. When he finished washing his hair he went home. When he reached his house he made Ayo louse him. While Ayo was lousing him the milk from her breasts dropped on Awig's legs. "Why, Ayo, does the milk from your breasts drop on my legs?" he asked. He sat up and asked them many times until they brought the baby. When they brought the baby, "We are going home to Natpangan now, because it does not do me any good to try and hide you." He took them home and soon he made a bamboo bench by the gate of the town where the people passed when they went to the well, and he placed the baby on it. Then they built *balaua*, for he wanted to see the father of the baby. Not long after he commanded some one to go and get betel-nuts and he oiled them. He sent them to go and invite all the people in the world. When they arrived none of them wanted the baby to recognize them. When the baby did not go to any of them, he sent someone to get a betel-nut to send to Dagdagalisit whom they had not invited. As soon as the betel-nut arrived at the place where Dagdagalisit lived "Dagdagalisit came to Natpangan for Awig makes *balaua*," it said. "I cannot go, for I am ashamed, because I have no good clothes," he said, for his clout was the dried bark of a banana tree. "If you do not come I will grow on your big pig," it said, and the betel-nut jumped on the back of the big pig, and it began to squeal. When his big pig began squealing loudly, because the tree grew on his back, Dagdagalisit said, "I come now." Not long after he went. When he came walking up the trail from the spring the baby saw him, and went to him, and Awig saw him carrying the baby. "I did not think it would happen this way to Aponibolinayen," he said. Then he sent Aponibolinayen away, and he made her carry the poor house box that they used to put the fish in which Dagdagalisit caught in the river. "You carry the female pig so that you have something to eat by the river," said Awig to

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 18.

Dagdagalisit. So they went; Aponibolinayen carried the poor box and Awig took her beads and clothes off from her, and he gave her old clothes to use, and so they went.

When they were near the spring they threw away the things they carried, the female pig and poor box. While they were walking near the town of Dagdagalisit, which was Kabenbenlan, Ayo saw the golden house. "We must not walk by the side of the golden house, for I am ashamed before the man who owns it," said Ayo to Dagdagalisit. They were still walking and Ayo followed him. As soon as they arrived at the ladder Dagdagalisit went upstairs and Ayo did not because she thought that Dagdagalisit did not own that house, and Dagdagalisit made her go up, and she did. As soon as she arrived above Dagdagalisit went to get rice to give Ayo to cook. "Cook this, Ayo, while I go to catch fish for us to eat," he said, and he went. As soon as he caught two fish he went home, and he left the dry bark of the banana, which he used as a clout, by the river, and he became *Līgī*,<sup>1</sup> so he went home. As soon as he arrived he made Ayo wake up, when he finished cooking the fish, and the baby went to him to be carried. He called Ayo and she did not go. "I wait for my husband, we will both eat at one time, bye and bye," she said, and she took the baby which he carried, for she was ashamed. "No, I was Dagdagalisit, but used the bark of the banana tree for a clout, because I changed my form. Let us eat." So they ate. As soon as they finished eating, "We shall make *balaua* so that we invite all our relatives in the different towns, and we also shall invite Awig and Aponigonay," he said. Not long after he went and took the betel-nuts which he cut. When he had cut them all he oiled them and sent them to the different towns.

When the people from the different towns arrived by the spring in Kabenbenlan they were surprised because all the stones of the spring were of gold. Not long after they went up to the town. Next day Awig and Aponigonay started to go. "Ala, Aponigonay, take rice so that we may cook it in Kabenbenlan, because Aponibolinayen and Dagdagalisit have no rice to cook. What will Dagdagalisit use for his *balaua*? He ties a banana bark clout on his body. I do not think he has rice, so we will take some for us to eat. You people who live in the same town we go to attend *balaua*. You take food with you for Aponibolinayen and Dagdagalisit make *balaua*." Not long after they went, and when they arrived in the place where the spring is in Kabenbenlan they saw the beautiful spring whose stones were all gold. The gravel which they used to wash the pottery with was all agates which have no holes through

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<sup>1</sup> Another name for Aponitolau.

them. "I do not think that Dagdagalisit has a spring like this, for his clout is only the dry bark of the banana, but it is best for us to go and see in the town." They went, and when they had almost reached the town the golden house twinkled. "We must not walk by the golden house," said Awig. "We must not walk by that golden house, you say, but that is where the people are dancing," said Aponibolnay. As they walked they saw that the men and women who were making *alawig*<sup>1</sup> were the companions of Aponibolinayen. Awig said, "That is the man who used to put the clout of banana leaves on him." As soon as Aponitolau<sup>2</sup> and Aponibolinayen finished dancing they went to take the hands of Awig and Aponibolay, and Aponitolau commanded the people who lived with them to bring golden seats. After that Aponitolau went to make Awig sit down. "You sit down, brother-in-law, and we will forget the things which have passed." Then he made him sit down and soon Awig and Asigtánan danced. While they were dancing Aponitolau went to cut off Awig's head. Not long after the women who never go outdoors<sup>3</sup> went to bring Awig to life. As soon as they made him alive again, Aponitolau gave the marriage price. It was nine times full, the *balana*, and when Aponibolnay raised up her elbow half of it vanished, which was in the *balana*. And Aponibolinayen used her power and the *balana* was full again.

Not long after they chewed betel-nut and the quid of Langa-an and Pagatipánan and the quids of Dagdagalisit went together, and the quid of Pagbokásan and Ebang went to the quid of Aponibolinayen and Awig, and Langa-an and Pagatipánan changed the name of Dagdagalisit to Ligi. "Ala, now mother old *alan* do not feel sorry, for we take Aponitolau<sup>2</sup> to Kadalayapan," said Langa-an. "Ala, yes, you take them, take all my valuable things. If it were not for me, Aponitolau would not be alive, for you Langa-an had a miscarriage and lost him, when you went to wash your hair, so I picked him up, because I had no one to inherit my possessions. Take all my things, so that Aponitolau and his wife may own them." Not long after they went home and Awig took all the payment for Aponibolinayen and all the *alan* flew away. So Awig and Aponitolau went to their towns.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 41, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ligi (Dagdagalisit) is now known by his true name.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 54, note 2.



## IO

Aponibbalagen went to put Aponibbolinayen in Kabwa-an, where no one could see her. As soon as they arrived at the ocean they rode on the crocodiles to Kabwa-an. When they arrived there Aponibbalagen used magic so that a big golden house stood in the middle of a wide plain. In the yard were many betel-nut trees and a spring below the trees. The gravel where the stream flowed was beads called *pagatpat* and *kodla*, and the leaves and grass used to rub the inside of the jars was a necklace of golden wire.

When the golden house, and betel-nuts, and spring had appeared, Aponibbalagen left an old woman with Aponibbolinayen and Alama-an, and Sinogyaman and Indiápan, and he went back home, and he said to them, "Do not be afraid to stay, for no one can see you here, where I have put you, and if anyone tries to come here the crocodiles will eat them. You have everything you need." So he went home.

Ingiwan who lived in Kabilabilan went to take a walk. As soon as he arrived at the ocean he wondered how he could get across. Not long after he put his headaxe on the water and he rode on it, for he used magic, and his headaxe floated and went to the other side of the ocean. As soon as he reached the other side he took a walk and he saw the big golden house in the middle of the wide plain. He was surprised, and he went to see it, and the crocodiles all slept while he crossed the ocean. When he reached the spring he said, "How pretty the well is. I think the girl who owns this well has magical power, and that she is pretty also." So he went to the house and said, "Good afternoon." Alama-an was cooking, and she said, "Good afternoon." She looked at him from the window, and she saw that he was a fine looking man. She did not tell Aponibbolinayen, but she had him go up the ladder. The old woman who took care of them asked why she did not tell her and Aponibbolinayen. Alama-an said she did not know what she was doing when she had him go up. So the old woman went to ask him what he came for. He said, "I just took a walk and I did not know how to get home, for there was a very high bank in the way, so I came across the ocean to learn the other way back home. While I was still on the ocean I saw this big golden house. I came here, for I was very tired, for it is more than one month since I left Kabilabilan." "Ala, you Alama-an go and cook some food for this young man," said the old woman, and Alama-an went truly, and when she finished cooking, the old woman called him to eat. The young man said he did not wish to eat unless one of the ladies who never went outdoors<sup>1</sup> ate with him. "Alama-an is the girl who never goes outdoors,"

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 54.

said the old woman, but he did not believe her, and so he did not go. When he would not eat she called Sinogyaman to go and eat, but the young man said, "I do not wish to eat with anyone except the pretty girl who never goes outdoors." So the old woman called Indiápan. As soon as she went outdoors to the place where the young man was, "No, that is not the girl I want. There is one prettier still. I will not go to eat." The old woman became angry and said, "If you are not hungry and do not wish to eat that is all right. I have offered three young girls to eat with you, but if you do not wish to eat with them I do not care." When the old woman and the three girls had eaten they gave him a place to sleep, and they slept also.

While the others were talking to the young man, Aponibolinayen was looking through a crack of the house, and she liked him very much. She wished to go outdoors and talk to him, but she was afraid because the old woman had said there were only the three young girls whom she called. As soon as they had finished talking, they went to bed.

In the middle of the night Ingiwan said to himself, "I believe there are other young girls here prettier than the last one she showed me. I will use my power and will become a firefly, and I will fly to all parts of the house, and see if there is a prettier one there." So he used his power and he became a firefly and he flew.<sup>1</sup> When he was in the room where the old woman was, he left, and went where Alama-an was, and he went on to Sinogyaman. When he did not like her he went to Indiápan. "This is the last girl she showed me and I like her, but I believe that there is another prettier." So he went to the next room, but no one slept there, and so he went on to the ninth room. He heard the sound of the pan pipe in the ninth room, and he was very glad. He flew over the head of the woman who was playing, and she stopped playing and struck at him. "How did the firefly get in here? I do not think there are any cracks in here." The firefly said, "Do not strike at me, for I fear you will hit my headaxe and be cut." So he became a man and sat down beside her, and Aponibolinayen saw that it was the man who had talked with the old woman and the girls, and she loved him, but she said, "Go outdoors, do not come here. I am afraid that the old woman who cares for us will see us. If you want something wait until morning and we will talk with her." Ingiwan did not get up and he would not go outdoors, and he said, "The best thing for us to do is to chew betel-nut, so we will know each other. Do not be afraid for I would not have come here if it was not my fortune to marry you, for I was taking a walk and intended to go back home, but I met a high bank in the way, and there was no

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note 3.

place to go except the ocean, so I came across the ocean. As soon as I reached the field I saw your house and I was surprised to see the golden house in the middle of the field. I spoke to the young girl who was cooking and she asked me to come up, and the old woman hated her. They asked me to eat, but I would not unless a pretty girl ate with me. So the old woman called two other pretty girls, but I did not want them, for they are not so pretty as you. I thought there were others prettier than the last one she showed me, so I became a firefly. It is my fortune to marry you." So he cut the betel-nut, but Aponibolinayen did not want to chew. When he talked to her so she could not sleep she took the betel-nut, and when they chewed they saw that they both had magical power and that it was good for them to marry. Ingiwan said, "You are the woman who lives here and you must tell your name first." "No, it is not good for a woman to tell her name first. You tell your name." Not long after, "My name is Ingiwan, the son of *alan*, of Kabilabilan, who did not find a way to go home, but who found you." "My name is Aponibolinayen, who is the sister of Aponibalagen of Natpangan, who put me here so no one might see me. It is bad that you have come."

When the daylight came Alama-an went to cook and when she finished the old woman said to her, "Go and call the man and see if he wishes to eat with the girls. You call them, but do not call Aponibolinayen, for that is why we are here, so no one can see her. I do not know why the alligators did not see him." Aponibolinayen and Ingiwan heard what she said and they laughed. So Alama-an went to call him, but he was not in the room. She went to tell the old woman that he was not there, and they were surprised, for they thought he had gone home, for all the other rooms were locked. "If he is not there you go and call Aponibolinayen and we will eat." The three girls went to the room of Aponibolinayen, but Ingiwan disappeared and they only saw Aponibolinayen. So they all went to eat and Ingiwan was not hungry, for Aponibolinayen used magic, so that rice and meat went to where he was hiding.

When they had lived together a long time Aponibolinayen said to him, "You better go home now, for it is time for my brother to visit us. If you wish to marry me you must arrange with him and my father." So Ingiwan went back home and the crocodiles only watched him, but did not try to eat him. He rode on his headaxe, and when he reached the other side of the ocean he saw that the high bank had disappeared and he found the way home.

Not long after Aponibalagen went to wash his hair, and he went to the place where Aponibolinayen and the other girls were living. The three girls and the old woman agreed not to tell that a man had been

there. As soon as Aponibalagen arrived in Kabwa-an he asked the old woman if anyone had been there, and she replied, "No." He called Alama-an and the other girls to the place where Aponibolinayen was, so all of them might louse him. While Aponibolinayen was lousing her brother the milk from her breasts dropped on his legs, and Aponibalagen was surprised, and he said, "What have you done, Aponibolinayen." She tried to rub it off from his leg. "No, do not rub it off; what is that?" "I do not know, brother. I guess I am sweating, for I am hot." "No, I do not believe you, I think someone has been here." He called the old woman and asked her. "You, grandmother, did you see a man who came here? Do not tell a lie." "Why?" asked the old woman. But she knew that Aponibolinayen had a little baby, for she had pricked her little finger and the baby had come out.<sup>1</sup> "When the girls were lousing me the milk from Aponibolinayen's breast dropped on my legs. I think you know the man who has been here." "I do not believe anyone came here, for we are on this side of the ocean, and the crocodiles protect us."

Aponibalagen called all the crocodiles to the side of the house, and he whipped all the crocodiles, and he asked them why they did not eat the man who went to Kabwa-an. As soon as he whipped them one of them said, "We did not see any man come here, but we were all very sleepy one day a long time ago. We would have eaten the man if we had seen him." Aponibalagen whipped all of them again. I put you here to prevent anyone from coming here, and you did not watch. Go away." The crocodiles were afraid and they said, "If that is what you say we will go." So they went. Aponibalagen went back to the house and whipped the girls. "We will go back now to Kaodanan. I thought it was good for you to be here, but you have done wrong." So he took them back to Kaodanan and they made *balaua* in order to find out who was the father of the boy. The boy grew one span every time they bathed him,<sup>2</sup> for they used their power. In a few days they built their *balaua* and the *liblibayan*<sup>3</sup> got betel-nuts which were covered with gold, and they oiled them and sent them to invite the people in all parts of the world. So the betel-nuts went.

As soon as the betel-nuts arrived in Kabilabılan, they said, "Good morning, Kagkagákag,"<sup>4</sup> to the man who was lying in his *balaua* covered with mud. "We came to invite you to the *balaua* of Aponibalagen." "I do not wish to go, for I have no clothes and am ashamed. I do not know

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 30, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 14, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Another name for Ingiwan, who is really Aponitolau.

the man who is going to make *balaua*.” “If you do not go I will grow on your knee,” said one of the betel-nuts. “Do as you wish.” So the betel-nut grew on his knee. When it grew big he became tired and he said, “Get off from me now and I will go.” So they went. All the people from the other towns had arrived and Aponibalagen carried the baby, to see whom the baby would want to go to, but the baby did not want any of them. When the betel-nut and Kagkagákag appeared the baby was happy and wanted to go to him. So Aponibalagen gave the boy to him and all the people were surprised that Aponibolinayen had wanted him. Not long after they danced, and when they had finished Aponibalagen said to Aponibolinayen, “Take off all your things and go to Kagkagákag.” Aponibolinayen did not wish to go, for he was not the same man she was with before, but her brother made her go, and he said, “Kagkagákag, take her to your town.” So he took her to his town, and when they reached the gate Aponibolinayen was crying, but he said to her, “Do not feel bad, I am the man who came to Kabwa-an. That is why the boy wants me, for I am his father.” Aponibolinayen did not believe him, but when they arrived at the spring of Kabilabilan she was surprised to see that the stones were of gold, and the fruits of the trees were of gold and were beads, and she said to Kagkagákag, “Why do we come here? It is shameful for us to be seen by the man who owns this.” Kagkagákag laughed at her. “If you do not believe that I am your husband, you watch.” And he went to take a bath, and the mud all washed off, and she saw that he was the man who was with her before in Kabwa-an. So they went up to the town, and the *alan* who cared for Ingiwan was glad to see them.

Not long after they made *balaua*, for they wished to call Aponibalagen so that he would not always feel badly about them. Not long after they sent the betel-nuts to summon their relatives. As soon as the betel-nut arrived in Kaodanan, “Good afternoon, Aponibolinayen and Kagkagákag want you to attend their *Sayang*.” Aponibalagen laughed and said, “Yes,” and he called all the people and told them to prepare to go to the *balaua*.

When they arrived at the spring everyone was astonished, for all the fruit of the trees was of gold, and all the places they walked were covered with plates. And Aponibalagen said, “I do not think this is the spring of Kagkagákag. I think someone else owns it. We will go up to the house where he lives.” When they reached the gate of the town they asked the young girl who was going to the spring where Aponibolinayen and Kagkagákag slept, and the woman said, “You follow these plates, for they go to the ladder of Kagkagákag’s house.” So they went and they always walked on the plates. When they arrived they saw many people

dancing in the yard and Aponibalagen shook their hands. "Kagkagákag, if you had come as you are now to my *balaua* I would not have been bad to my sister." Kagkagákag laughed at them and they all chewed betel-nut.

While they were chewing Langa-an and Pagatipánan went to them and they said, "We came to chew betel-nut also to see if we are related to you." Kagkagákag gave them betel-nut, and when they chewed they found out that they were relatives and they called Kagkagákag, Aponitolau, and he paid the marriage price for Aponibolinayen. Aponigawani said to him, "I thought I had no brother. I do not know what my father and mother did with you." The *alan* who cared for Aponitolau said, "He was by the road where Langa-an had dropped him on her way to Nagbotobotán, so I picked him up, for I have no children." As soon as Aponitolau paid the marriage price they danced again, and the *alan* gave all her things to Aponitolau, for Langa-an and Pagatipánan took them home. Not long after Aponibalagen married Aponigawani, and he paid the same as Aponitolau had paid for Aponibolinayen.

(Told by Madomar, a woman of Riang barrio Patok.)

## II

"I go to visit my cousin Gawigawen of Adasin," said Aponitolau. He pushed his raft until he reached Pangasinan. At the spring he asked the women if his cousin Aponibolinayen was there. "She is not, because she went to celebrate *Sayang*.<sup>1</sup> Did you not get the invitation of Gawigawen of Adasin?" "No," said Aponitolau.

Aponibolinayen went to have Lisnaya fix her upper arm beads and they sat in the shade of the *pamlo-ongen* tree, and Aponibolinayen dropped her switch.

"I wish to visit my relatives, but am ashamed because the invitation did not reach me," said Aponitolau. So he went to rest in the shade of the *pamlo-ongen* tree, and he saw there the switch which was spread out, and there was none like it.

The women who had been at the spring said, "Why did you not invite Aponitolau? Whenever we have trouble, it is he and his cousin that we call."

"Ala, we go down to the river to see." They went to get Aponitolau and when they arrived at the spring he was there in the shade of the tree. "Ala, forgive us because the invitation did not reach you and come up to the *Sayang*." "Yes, but if the old enemy is there, when I go, the

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 12.

dance circle will be disturbed, if we fight." They still requested him, and he went up to the place where they danced during the two months.

Dalinmanok of Dalinapōyan said, "Long ago, when my grandfather was young, the town of Kadalayapan became wooded." (He meant that his grandfather had destroyed the town in which Aponitolau's ancestors lived.) "My grandfather Dagolāyen long ago said, 'Dalinapōyan, Dagala, and also Dagopan became wooded.' Then Dalinmanok became angry; he looked like a courting cock and seized Aponitolau by the hair. "It is as I predicted; Cousin Gawigawen; the circle is now broken." They parted the fighters, but the hawk hastened to the town of Kadalayapan to tell Aponigawani.

"Cousin Dumalāgan, Cousin Agyokan; the enemy — the old one — has killed my brother Aponitolau at the *Sayang* of Gawigawen of Adasin, so says the hawk." After that they started and soon arrived in Adasin. They began at the south end of the town and killed so many it looked as though they were cutting down banana trees. "Look down, Aponitolau, and see if you know the men who are destroying the town." Aponitolau truly looked. "Why, Cousin Dumalāgan and Cousin Agyokan, do you destroy the town?" "Because the hawk reported to Aponigawani that you had been killed by the old enemy in the town of Adasin, and she has thrown away her upper arm beads<sup>1</sup> by the gate of Kadalayapan."

"Ala! you stop. Ala! You who live, join their heads and their bodies; you join all," he said. "I will spit once and they will appear as if they were not cut at all. I will whip my perfume which is *banowes*, they quickly breathe. I whip my perfume which is *alikadadak* (clatter), and they quickly stand up. I whip my perfume which is *dagimonau* (*monau* — just awakened) and they quickly recover."<sup>2</sup> "Oh, how long we have slept," they said. "How long we have slept, you say, and you have been dead." "Oh, how powerful are the people of Kadalayapan! Even if we die, we may hope to live again at once," they said, and all went up to the house of Gawigawen.

"Now Dalinmanok of Dalinapōyan, Dumpoga of Dagala, Ligi of Madagitan and Ligi of Dagopan, expect me in two months' time, for I shall come to fight you." After that they agreed and everybody went home. When they arrived at Kadalayapan there were no upper arm beads on Aponigawani, for she believed the hawk when it told her Aponitolau was dead. "No, I am not dead, but when two months have passed I shall go to fight Dalinmanok and his companions."

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<sup>1</sup> As a sign of mourning.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 18, note 1.

"When you went to sail, did you not find the switch which belongs to Aponibolinayen? They are now making a ceremony to find it." "It is here, that which I picked up in the shade of the *pamlo-ongen* tree, and I will take it back when I go to fight."

Not long after that, according to the custom of the story, the second month came. "Old men who know the signs and very old women, come and see the liver and gall sack, because I go to fight." After that they all gathered, they caught the pig and cut it in large pieces. "Ala, old men who know the signs and very old women, come and see the gall, for I go to fight."<sup>1</sup> "This is better than your grandfather had when he consulted the gall. How fearful you will be to the town which you go to fight!" "Cousin Agyokan, go and tell all our cousins that we start when morning comes." When early morning came — as goes in a story — they arrived. Aponitolau played his Jew's harp at the spring of the town, and it sounded like the song of a bird and the people smelt the odor of *alangigan* (*Ilangilang*) which is only possessed by the people of Kadalayapan. "Ala, it is Aponitolau," said Dalinmanok. "Go and tell our companions that we go to fight him at the river, for we do not wish them to come on shore in our town." When it was day, they met at the river and they fought until afternoon; and when Aponitolau was thirsty his headaxe turned slantwise and water blue as indigo flowed off it freely.

"Dumpoga of Dagala, Ligī of Madagitan, Ligī of Dagopan, Masilnag of Kaskasilnagan, I come to teach you because you do not know how to kill. When one tries to kill your left side, receive the blow with your right, and when they try to kill the right side, receive it with the left. Ala! you that are left alive, it is better that I spare you and that you marry the wives of your companions. I will spare you if you will all agree to give me one hundred jars which are *ginlasan*, *summadag*, and *tadogan*." They agreed. They rolled the jars which they took down to the river and there were among them *doldoli* and *ginaang*,<sup>2</sup> and the jars were glad, for they had formerly belonged to Dagolāyen, the grandfather of Aponitolau, but had been stolen. After that Aponitolau said, "Give me your betel-nut with magic power. You jars and all you heads of dead persons which are cut off, go first to Kadalayapan." After that they went and Aponitolau followed. After they arrived they danced with the heads and in a short time put them on the *sagang*.<sup>3</sup>

"Now, Aponigawanī, bring me the switch of Aponibolinayen, for I

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 10, note 4.



go to take it to her." He took the switch and used the power of the betel-nut, so that he went as quickly as a person can point to the place of many betel-nuts. In a short time, as the story goes, they arrived. "Good evening," said Aponitolau, but Aponibolinayen thought him to be an enemy. "Does the old enemy bring greetings?" asked Aponitolau. Then they went up into the house and he leaned against the corner pole. Aponibolinayen looked at Aponitolau and his good looks seemed to climb the corner pole. "It is better for us to tell our names," said Aponitolau, "for it is difficult to talk when we do not know each other's names." After that he took out, from his little sack, nuts whose husks were of gold. He cut a nut and when he gave the half to Aponibolinayen their golden finger rings exchanged themselves. "Give back my ring," she said. "Our relationship is the reason they change," said Aponitolau. Then they chewed and laid the quids on the headaxe and they became agate beads which looked like honey, and laid in parallel lines. "We are relatives," they said, and in a short time they told their names. When it became time to eat, Aponibolinayen said, "What do we eat?" He took the boiling stick and broke it into pieces, and it became a fish which they ate,<sup>1</sup> and Aponitolau took the bone out of the fish which Aponibolinayen ate. When they finished eating she spread the mat and the blanket which they kept in the box. "I do not like a blanket which is kept in a box, for it smells like *kimi*,"<sup>2</sup> said Aponitolau. "Why do you not like it? It is what we keep for company and is easy to use," said Aponibolinayen. "The end of my clout is enough for my blanket," said Aponitolau. Then Aponibolinayen used the power of the betel-nut and vanished. "Why is there no one here?" said Aponitolau. "I use your power betel-nut, so that I may become the insect which belongs to Kaodanan (i.e., the firefly)."

After that he flew and arrived in the ninth room and sailed back and forth near Aponibolinayen who was playing a pan-pipe. He touched her body and she struck him away. "You must not strike me away, for you hit my headaxe." After that Aponitolau sat down. "How did you pass in here?" she asked. "I passed through the crack in the wall," said Aponitolau; and after that they laid together. When it was early morning Aponibolinayen sent him away, for she feared her brother might come.

As Aponitolau went quickly to his raft, he was seen by Balau of Baboyan, a great bird. "How fine is Aponitolau, Ala! I shall take

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> An insect.

him to marry Ginteban."<sup>1</sup> Then he was seized by Balau and was carried to Baboyan. "Now Aponitolau, you must marry Ginteban who lived in Baygan, for this place is surrounded with water blue as indigo and many crocodiles lie in that water."

In a little while, as the story goes, Aponibolinayen gave birth to a child.

"Ala! grandmother, prick my little finger, for it itches." She truly opened it and the baby popped out like popped rice.<sup>2</sup> After that they bathed it and called him Balokanag, for that is a name of the people of Kadalayapan. Soon the child was large and asked for a clout, then he asked the name of his father, but they told him falsely that it was Dumanagan. "Ala! get me a top so that I can play with the others," he said. Then his mother gave him the top which was his father's when he was a little boy. After that he went to play with it. When it was late afternoon, the old woman Alokotán went to feed the pigs, but Kanag threw his top and it broke her jar. "Pa-ya," said the old woman, "the son is brave; when you go to rescue your father who Balau captured, it will not be my pot toward which you act brave." Kanag cried, "You said, mother, that Dumanagan is my father, but there is another who is my father — Aponitolau whom Balau stole." Then Aponibolinayen cried, "How bad you are, old woman! We should have exchanged for your jar if you had not told him of his father."

"You must make me sweets, for I go to get my father," he said. "If he was seized, you who are little will be also," said his mother, but he insisted. Then she used magic and secured for him the headaxe used by his father when he was a little boy, and she made him sweets. He started and went, and his mother planted a *lawed* vine by their hearth.<sup>3</sup> "Your power betel-nut, so that I go as quickly as pointing to Baboyan," said Kanag. Soon he arrived there, and he saw the crocodiles lying in the water. "You power betel-nut that I may walk on the crocodiles. Make them all sleep so that they do not feel me." He reached the home of Balau, where he saw great snakes hanging in the trees. He climbed the trees, he cut them so that they fell down, he cast them down — those big snakes — then he cut off the head of Balau, and the earth trembled. After that he went to find his father who was in the place of many betel-nuts.

"I am Balokanag whom Aponibolinayen desired, whom you left," he said. "Now I take you home to Kadalayapan." After that he

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<sup>1</sup> Ginteban was a woman from Baygan (Vigan) who had been captured by the bird.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 96, note 3.

truly took home Aponitolau, and Ginteban, who lived in Baygan. In a short time they arrived in Kadalayapan and Kanag's mother was there, because Aponigawani had taken her home. "Now we are married forever, Aponitolau," said Ginteban who lived in Baygan. "No, for Aponibolinayen is his wife," replied Aponigawani. "Ala! you chance it and the one who loses is not the one who is married. Put clay dishes in line, which you are to step on. The one who breaks them loses." Aponibolinayen stepped first and there was nothing broken. Ginteban followed and all those clay dishes which she stepped on were broken. Then she went home to Baygan and after that Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen were married.

## 12

"I am anxious to eat the fruit of the *bolnay* tree<sup>1</sup> of Matawitawen," said Aponibolinayen. "What is that?" said Ligī. "I am anxious to eat fish roe, I said." "Bring me a fish net and I will go and get some," said Ligī. So she went to get the fish net and gave it to him. Not long after he went to the river and he used magic so that all the fish in the river were caught, so truly all the fish were in the net. He caught one of them and cut it open and took out the roe. As soon as he secured the roe he let the fish all go out of the net and he went back home. Not long after he reached the yard of their house. "Aponibolinayen, come and get the fish roe which you desire," he said. She went to get it from him. She did not cook it, but put it on the bamboo hanger above the fire. Ligī went to the *balaua* and when Aponibolinayen thought he was in the *balaua* she threw away the roe and the dogs went to eat it, and they snarled and barked beneath the kitchen. "What are the dogs fighting about, Aponibolinayen? I think you threw away the fish roe," he said to her. "I dropped one of them."

Aponibolinayen went again to the room and she said again that she wished to eat the fruit of Matawitawen, and Ligī asked what she said. "I am anxious for the liver of a deer, I said." So Ligī went to the woods to hunt deer. As soon as he reached the woods he sent his dogs and he said to them, "You, my black dog, do not catch deer except in the low grass, and you, my striped dog, do not touch any deer unless they have large horns." Not long after his dogs caught some deer, and he took their livers and he let them go again. Not long after he arrived at his house and he called Aponibolinayen, "Come and get the liver,

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<sup>1</sup> A fruit tree.

which you wish to eat." Aponibolinayen said to him, "Put it in the rattan hanger." Ligi went back to the *balaua*, and Aponibolinayen used magic so that Ligi slept. While he was asleep she went to the kitchen to throw away the livers of the deer, and the dogs went to eat and made such a great disturbance that Ligi awoke and asked Aponibolinayen what was the matter. "One small piece of liver which I did not eat." She went again to the room and laid down, and Ligi used magic and became an ant, and he went to the crack of the floor, for he wanted to know what Aponibolinayen was saying, for he suspected that she was not telling him the truth. As soon as he arrived in the crack Aponibolinayen repeated her wish to eat the *bolnay* fruit of Matawitáwen, and Ligi became a man again and appeared to her. "Why did you not tell the truth, Aponibolinayen?" he said and she answered, "I did not, because Matawitáwen is very far and I am afraid that you will be lost." "No, give me a sack," he said to her. So he went and he used magic so that he arrived at the tree at once.

Not long after he arrived truly at the place and he secured the fruit and put it in the sack. As soon as the sack was filled he took some of the fruit to hold in his other hand and he went. Not long after he reached the spring in Kadalayapan and his sweethearts were at the spring. "Ligi, how many and how pretty the *bolnay* fruit are. Your sack is filled and you have some in your hands. Will you give us some of it to eat?" So Ligi gave them all the fruit in the sack and all he held in his hand. "Do not give everything to Aponibolinayen, but give to us also." So he gave them all he had. "The baby inside of Aponibolinayen, which desires the *bolnay*, is not your child, but is the child of Maōbágan," said his sweethearts, and when they had eaten all of the fruit Ligi went home with nothing but the sack. He gave the sack to Aponibolinayen. As soon as she received it she looked to see what was inside and she found one little piece of the fruit which the women had overlooked, and she ate it. As soon as she ate it: "I am anxious to eat more if there are more. My headache is gone." "What is that?" said Ligi, angrily. "You get ready for I will put you in the place where the tree is if you want more." Aponibolinayen said to him, "Because I said that I wanted more you want to put me by the tree." Ligi was angry and he seized her by the arm and dragged her to the tree. As soon as they arrived at the *bolnay* tree, he dug a hole about neck deep and he put her in it. As soon as he put her in the hole he went back home.

Soon Aponibolinayen was ready to give birth. "What can I do?" she said to the spirit Ayo. Ayo said, "The best thing for us to do is to prick your little finger." Not long after the little baby popped out of

her finger."<sup>1</sup> "What shall we call him?" they said. "We will call him Kanag, for it is the name of the people who live in Kadalayapan." Every time they gave him a bath the baby always grew, for they used magic.<sup>2</sup> Not long after the baby became a boy, and he wanted them to get out of the hole. "No, we do not get out, for I am afraid your father is watching us." The little boy got out even though his mother was afraid.

As soon as the boy got out of the hole he listened to hear where many children were playing. So he walked to where the sounds came from. As soon as he arrived at the place where the boys were swimming Dagoláyan saw him. "Who is that boy?" he said to his companions, and the little boy went near to them. "Why, this boy looks like my uncle in Kadalayapan," said Dagoláyan to his companions, and he asked him who his father was, and the boy said he was the son of an *alan* of Matawítáwen. Not long after they agreed that they would go to fight. So Kanag agreed with them and they decided on a day and Dagoláyan told him that he would go to his home. "If that is what you say, it is all right," said Kanag, and they all went home. As soon as he arrived at the hole by the *bolnay* tree: "Why, we are cousins," said the other boy to me. And Aponibolinayen said, "Perhaps it is the boy from Kaodanan." "We agreed to go to fight, day after tomorrow. Make cakes for me to take with me." "No, do not go, for I fear that your father will meet you." "No, I am going. I will plant the *lawed* vine by the stove, and if it wilts I am dead,"<sup>3</sup> he said.

Not long after Aponibolinayen went to make cakes for his provisions, and Dagoláyan started early in the morning to go to see Kanag, and it seemed as if a thousand men struck their shields. Kanag heard the sound of the shield. "Who are the boys with Dagoláyan who go with us to fight?" As soon as Kanag met Dagoláyan they went, and they both struck their shields, and Līgī heard them and he was surprised for it sounded like two thousand people. So Līgī thought that Dagoláyan had many companions. As soon as they arrived where Līgī was waiting for them, "Where did you get the other boy who is with you?" he said to Dagoláyan. He answered that he met him where they were swimming, and that they agreed to go to fight together. Līgī wanted to kill him, and he said, "I want to kill." "No, do not kill him," said Dagolá-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 30, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The idea of a plant serving as a life or fidelity token was found in ancient Egypt, in India, and Europe. See Cox, an Introduction to Folk-Lore (London, 1904); TAWNEY, *Kathá Sarit Ságara* (Calcutta, 1880, Vol. I, p. 86); PARKER, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*.

yan. Not long after they went. As soon as they arrived where there were no houses, Kanag used his power so that it rained very hard and they had nothing to cook. Not long after it rained and Līgī and Dagoláyan did not cook anything, for everything was damp. The spirit helpers of Aponibolinayen always fed Kanag, and Līgī and Dagoláyan ate with him. "What is the matter of this boy who is the son of *alan*? He has something to eat. I do not believe that his mother *alan* knows how to prepare good food," said Līgī, angrily.

After they had finished eating they went, and after a while they wished to fight. "The best for us to do is to stand in different places and ambush the people," said Līgī. "The best for you, son of *alan*, is to stay at the place where the carabao pass by." And Līgī went to hide where the people passed by on the way to the spring, and Dagoláyan staid on the other side. A young pretty girl passed by the place where Kanag was hiding, so he cut off her head and he shouted, for he was very happy. "Why did the son of *alan* kill someone before us?" said Līgī. Not long after an old woman and an old man passed by where Līgī and Dagoláyan were hiding, and they killed them. Not long after they saw the head which Kanag had taken, and Kanag saw the heads which Līgī and Dagoláyan had taken were those of an old man and old woman. Dagoláyan said to him, "What did you say when you killed that pretty girl? I think I heard you say, 'Your father does not like you.' I did not hear very well so I ask for sure." "'The son of *alan* of Matawítáwen kills the pretty girl is what I said.'"' "No, that is not what you said. You said you were the son of a man who lives in Kadalayapan." Not long after, when Dagoláyan could not make Kanag repeat what he had said, they all went back to Kadalayapan where Līgī lived.

When they arrived in Kadalayapan they played the *gansa* and danced, and Aponibolinayen heard the sound of the *gansa*, and she was anxious to go, but her spirit companion would not let her go. They saw that the *lawed* vine was green. Not long after they made Kanag dance, and when his body trembled, while he danced, the whole town of Kadalayapan trembled also; and when he moved his feet the fish were around his feet and they went to lap his feet, because the water came up into the town. When he stamped his feet the coconuts fell from the trees, and Līgī was very angry, and he went to sharpen his headaxe. As soon as he had sharpened his headaxe he went to where Kanag was dancing and he cut off his head. When Aponibolinayen looked at the *lawed* vine each leaf was wilted. "Grandmother, the *lawed* vine which Kanag planted is wilted," said Aponibolinayen. "I am going to get him." So she went and as she approached the place where Līgī used to

live he saw her. "How angry you were, Līgī; you killed your son," said Aponībolinayen, and Līgī bent his head, for he did not know it was his son. "I will use magic so that when I whip my perfume *alīkadakad* he will stand up."<sup>1</sup> So the little boy stood up at once. Not long after she used her power again, and whipped her perfume *dagimonau* so that her son awoke. He woke up and said, "How long my sleep is!" "No, do not say that; your father killed you." She wanted to take him back to Matawītāwen, but Līgī prevented them and he begged them to forgive him, and Aponībolinayen said, "No, we will go back, for you did not want us and you put us there." So they went to Matawītāwen and Līgī followed them. As soon as they arrived at the spring of Matawītāwen Aponībolinayen used her power. "I use my power so that Līgī cannot see us, and the trail will become filled with thorns."<sup>2</sup> Not long after Līgī could not walk in the trail and he could not see them, and he was very sorry. He laid down, because he could not follow them and his hair grew like vines along the ground; and he did not eat, for he was always sorry about the things he had done to his wife and son. Not long after they forgave him and went to get him, and they all went back to Kadalayapan. Līgī commanded his spirit attendants to take his sweethearts and kill them, for they told falsehoods about Aponībolinayen, so that he did not want her any more. This is all.

(Told by Magwati of Lagangilang.)

### 13

There was a husband and wife who were Aponītolau and Aponībolinayen. Aponītolau laid down in their *balaua* and Aponībolinayen was in the house and she had a headache. "I am anxious to eat the fruit of the orange tree which belongs to Gawīgawen of Adasen," said Aponībolinayen. Aponītolau heard her. "What is that?" he said to her. "I am anxious to eat the *biw*<sup>3</sup> of Matawītawen." "Give me a sack and I will go to get it," said Aponītolau, and he went. As soon as Aponītolau filled the sack with *biw* he went back home. As soon as he arrived in their house, "Here is the fruit you wished, Aponībolinayen. Come and get." "Put it on the bamboo hanger above the fire, and I will go and get some to eat when my head does not feel so badly, for I cannot get up yet." So Aponītolau went to put the fruit on the hanger above the fire and he laid down again in the *balaua*.

As soon as Aponītolau laid down in the *balaua*, Aponībolinayen went to the kitchen and peeled one of the *biw* fruit and she ate it truly. As

<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 17, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> A fruit.

soon as she ate she vomited and so she threw them away. "What is the matter, Aponibolinayen; I think you threw away the fruit." "One of them I dropped." She went into the room and she said again, "I am anxious to eat the oranges of Gawigawen of Adasen." "What is that?" said Aponitolau. "I am anxious to eat fish roe," said Aponibolinayen. So Aponitolau went to get his fish net and he fished in the river. As soon as he arrived at the river he threw his net and secured a fish with fish roe. He cut open the fish and took out the roe. When he had taken out the roe he spat on the place where he had cut the fish and it became alive again and swam in the river. After that he went back home. As soon as he arrived at their house he gave the fish to Aponibolinayen, and he laid down in the *balaua* again, and Aponibolinayen went to the kitchen and she toasted the roe. When she finished she tasted it, and she vomited, so she threw it away also. "What is the matter, Aponibolinayen? Why are the dogs barking?" "I dropped some of the roe." She went again to the room of the house. "I am anxious to eat the oranges which belong to Gawigawen of Adasen." "What is that, Aponibolinayen," said Aponitolau. "I am anxious to eat a deer's liver, I said." So Aponitolau called his dogs and he went to hunt deer. As soon as he arrived on the mountain, "Ala, my black dog, do not catch a deer unless it is in the low grass. Ala, my dog Bökō, do not catch deer unless it is in a level field." Not long after his dogs caught deer, and he took out their livers. As soon as he took out the liver he spat on the places he had cut, and the deer ran away again. Not long after he went back home. As soon as he arrived, "Here is the liver which you wanted. Come and take it." "Put it in the kitchen. I will go and fix it when my head does not hurt." Aponitolau put it in the kitchen and he went to the *balaua* again. When Aponitolau was in the *balaua*, Aponibolinayen went to the kitchen and cooked the liver and she tried to eat, but she vomited again, so she threw it away, and the dogs all barked. "What is the matter? Why do the dogs bark? I think you threw away the livers." Aponibolinayen said, "I threw away what I did not eat, for I did not eat all of it." "Do not throw them away, for bye and bye I will eat, for it is hard to go and get them."

Not long after she went again to the room, and Aponitolau thought that Aponibolinayen did not tell the truth, so he used his power. "I use my power so that I will become a centipede." So he became a centipede and he went in the crack of the floor where Aponibolinayen was lying. Not long after Aponibolinayen said again, "I am anxious to eat the oranges which belong to Gawigawen of Adasen." "I know now what you want; why did you not tell the truth at first? That is



why you threw away all the things I went to get for you," said Aponitolau, and he became a man and appeared to her. "I did not tell the truth for I feared you would not return, for no one who has gone there has returned, so I am patient about my headache."

"Ala, go and get rice straw, and I will wash my hair." Not long after he went to wash his hair. When he finished washing his hair he went to get one *lawed* vine, and he went back home. He planted the vine by the hearth. "Make some cakes for my provision on the journey." "No, do not go, Aponitolau," said Aponibolinayen. "Make some, for if you do not I will go without provisions." Not long after Aponibolinayen went to cook cakes. As soon as she finished, "Ala, you come and oil my hair." As soon as she oiled his hair, "Go and get my dark clout and my belt and my headband." So Aponibolinayen went to get them. As soon as he dressed he took his spear and headaxe and he told Aponibolinayen that if the *lawed* leaves wilted he was dead.<sup>1</sup> So he went.

As soon as he arrived at the well of Gimbanganon all the betel-nut trees bowed, and Gimbanganon shouted and all the world trembled. "How strange that all the world trembles when that lady shouts." So Aponitolau took a walk. Not long after the old woman Alokotán saw him and she sent her little dog to bite his leg, and it took out part of his leg." "Do not proceed, for you have a bad sign. If you go, you cannot return to your town," said the old woman Alokotán. "No, I can go back." So he went. As soon as he arrived at the home of the lightning, "Where are you going?" said the lightning. "I am going to get the oranges from Gawigawen of Adasen. Go and stand on the high stone and I will see what your sign is." So he went and stood on the high stone and the lightning made a light and Aponitolau dodged. "Do not go, for you have a bad sign, and Gawigawen will secure you." "No, I am going." So he went. As soon as he arrived at the place of *Silit*<sup>2</sup> it said to him, "Where are you going, Aponitolau?" "I am going to get the oranges of Gawigawen of Adasen." "Stand on top of that high stone so I can see if you have a good sign." So he went and *Silit* made a great noise. As soon as he made the great noise he jumped. "Go back, Aponitolau, and start another time, for you have a bad sign."<sup>3</sup> "No, I go."

He arrived at the ocean and he used magic. "I use my power so that you, my headaxe, sail as fast as you can when I stand on you."

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 96, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lightning which is accompanied by a loud crash of thunder.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 19, note 1.

As soon as he stood on it it sailed very fast. Not long after he was across the ocean and he was at the other edge of the ocean and he walked again. Not long after he arrived at the spring where the women went to get water. "Good morning, you women who are dipping water from the spring." "Good morning. If you are an enemy cut us in only one place so we will not need to cure so much." "If I was an enemy I would have killed all of you when I arrived here. After that he asked them, "Is this the spring of Gawigawen of Adasen?" "Yes, it is," said the women. So he sent the women to the town to tell Gawigawen, and the women did not tell him for he was asleep. So he went up to the town, but did not go inside, because the bank reached almost up to the sky, and he could not get in. He was sorrowful and bent his head.

Soon the chief of the spiders went to him: "What are you feeling sorry about, Aponitolau?" "I feel sorry because I cannot climb up the bank and go into the town." "Do not feel sorry. You wait for me while I go up and put some thread which you can hold," said the chief of the spiders.<sup>1</sup> So Aponitolau waited for him. Not long after the spider said, "Now you can climb; so Aponitolau climbed on the thread. After he got inside of the town of Gawigawen he went directly to the house of Gawigawen. When he arrived there Gawigawen was still asleep in his *balaua*. As soon as he woke up and saw Aponitolau sitting by his *balaua* he stood and ran to his house and got his headaxe and spear. Aponitolau said to him, "Good morning, Cousin Gawigawen. Do not be angry with me. I came here to buy your oranges for my wife. Aponibolinayen wishes to eat one, for she always has a headache, because she has nothing she can eat." Gawigawen took him to his house, and he fed him one carabao. "If you cannot eat all of the carabao which I give you, you cannot have the oranges which your wife wishes to eat." Aponitolau was sorrowful, for he thought he could not eat all of the carabao and he bent his head. Not long after the chiefs of the ants and flies went to him. "What makes you feel so badly, Aponitolau?" they said to him. "I am sorrowful, for I cannot get the oranges which Aponibolinayen wishes to eat until I eat this carabao which Gawigawen feeds to me." "Do not be sorrowful," said the chiefs of the ants and flies. So they called all the ants and flies to go and eat all the meat and rice. Not long after the flies and ants finished eating the meat and rice, and Aponitolau was very glad and he went to Gawigawen and said to him, "I have finished eating the food which you gave me." Gawigawen was surprised. "What did you do?" "I ate all of it."

Gawigawen took him where the oranges were and Aponitolau saw

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 16.

that the branches of the tree were sharp knives. Gawigawen said to him, "Go and climb the tree and get all you want." He went to climb. When he got two of the oranges he stepped on one of the knives and he was cut. So he fastened the fruit to his spear and it flew back to Kadalayapan. Not long after the fruit dropped on the floor in the kitchen and Aponibolinayen heard it, and she went into the kitchen. As soon as she got there she saw the fruit and she ate it at once, and the spear said to her, "Aponitolau is in Adasen. He sent me first to bring you the oranges which you wished." As soon as she ate the oranges she went to look at the *lawed* vine by the stove and it was wilted, and she knew that Aponitolau was dead.

Not long after Aponibolinayen gave birth and every time they bathed the baby it grew one span and soon it was large.<sup>1</sup> He often went to play with the other children and his mother gave him a golden top which had belonged to his father when he was a little boy. When he struck the tops of the other children they were broken at once. Not long after he struck the garbage pot of the old woman, and she was angry and said, "If you are a brave boy, you go and get your father whom Gawigawen of Adasen has inherited." And Kanag went back to their house crying. "I did not have a father, you said, mother, but the old woman said he was inherited by Gawigawen, when he went to get the orange fruit. Now prepare provisions for me to take, for I am going to get my father." Aponibolinayen said to him, "Do not go or Gawigawen will get you as he did your father." But Kanag said, "If you do not let me go and do not give me food, I will go without anything." Not long after Aponibolinayen cooked food for him and Kanag was ready to go, and he took his headaxe which was one span long and his spear. Not long after he went.

As soon as he got to the gate of the town he struck his shield and it sounded like one thousand people, and everyone was surprised. "How brave that boy is! We think he is braver than his father. He can strike his shield and it sounds like one thousand." When he arrived at the spring of Gimbangonan he was still striking his shield, and when Gimbangonan heard she said, "Someone is going to fight." He shouted, for he was very happy and the world trembled and Kanag looked like a flitting bird, for he was always moving.

As soon as he arrived at the place where Alokotán lived she sent her dog against him, and the dog ran at him, and Kanag cut off its head. "How brave you are, little boy! Where are you going?" "Where are you going, you say, I am going to Adasen to follow my father." "Your

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 30, note 3.

father is dead. I hope you secure him, for you have a good sign," said Alokotán. So Kanag went on in a hurry. Not long after he arrived at the place where the thunder was and it said, "Where are you going, little boy?" "I am going to follow my father in Adasen." "Go and stand on the high stone and see what your sign is." So he went. As soon as he stood on the high stone the thunder rolled, but Kanag did not move and the thunder was surprised." "Go at once; I think you can get your father whom Gawigawen inherits." So Kanag went. Not long after he arrived at the place of the lightning, and he made him stand on the high stone. As soon as he stood on it the lightning made a big noise and flash, but he did not move. So the boy went at once, for he had a good sign.

Kanag struck his shield until it sounded like a thousand people, and all the women who were dipping water at the spring of Gawigawen were surprised, for they saw only a little boy, who struck his shield, approaching them, and it sounded like a thousand. As soon as he arrived at the spring, "Good morning, women who are dipping water. Go and tell Gawigawen of Adasen that he must prepare for I am going to fight with him." So all the women ran to the town and told Gawigawen that a strange boy was at the spring. Gawigawen said to the women, "Go and tell him that if it is true that he is brave he will come into the town if he can." So one of the women went to tell him and he went.

When he arrived at the bank which reached to the sky Kanag used his power and he jumped like the flitting bird, and he entered the town and went directly to the *balaua* and house of Gawigawen of Adasen. Not long after he had arrived he saw that the roof of his house and *balaua* was of hair and around his town were heads, and Kanag said, "This is why my father did not return. It is true that Gawigawen is a brave man, but I think I can kill him."

As soon as Gawigawen saw Kanag in the yard of his house he said, "How brave you are, little boy! Why did you come here?" "I came to get my father, for you secured him when he came to get the oranges which my mother wanted. If you do not wish to give my father to me I will kill you." And Gawigawen laughed at him and said, "One of my fingers will fight you. You will not go back to your town. You will be like your father." Kanag said, "We shall see. Go and get your arms and we will fight here in the yard of your house. Gawigawen became angry and he went to get his headaxe, which was as big as half of the sky, and his spear. As soon as he returned to the place where Kanag was waiting he said, "Can you see my headaxe, little boy? If I put this on you you cannot get it off. So you throw first so you can show how brave you are." Kanag said to him, "No, you must be first,

so you will know that I am a brave boy." Gawigawen tried to put his headaxe on him and the boy used his power and he became a small ant and Gawigawen laughed at him and said, "Now, the little boy is gone." Not long after the little boy stood on his headaxe and he was surprised. "Little boy, you are the first who has done this. Your father did not do this. It is true that you are brave; if you can dodge my spear I am sure you will get your father. So he threw his spear at him and Kanag used his power and he disappeared and Gawigawen was surprised. "You are the next." Then Kanag used magic so that when he threw his spear against him it would go directly to the body of Gawigawen. As soon as he threw Gawigawen laid down. Kanag ran to him and cut off his five heads and there was one left, and Gawigawen said to him, "Do not cut off my last head and I will go and show you where your father is." So Kanag did not cut off the last head, and they went to see his father. The skin of his father had been used to cover a drum, and his hair was used to decorate the house, and his head was placed by the gate of the town, and the body was put below the house.

As soon as Kanag had gathered together the body of his father he used his power and he said, "I whip my perfume *banawes* and directly he will say *Wes*."<sup>1</sup> His father said, "*Wes*." Not long after he said, "I whip my perfume *alakadakad* and directly he will stand up." So his father stood beside him. After that he whipped his perfume *dagimonau* and his father woke up and he was surprised to see the little boy by him and he said, "Who are you? How long I slept." "I am your son. 'How long I slept,' you said. You were dead and Gawigawen inherited you. Take my headaxe and cut off the remaining head of Gawigawen." So he took the headaxe of Kanag and went to the place where Gawigawen stood. When he struck the headaxe against Gawigawen it did not hurt him and Aponitolau slipped, and his son laughed at him. "What is the matter with you, father? Gawigawen looks as if he were dead, for he has only one head left." He took the headaxe from his father and he went to Gawigawen and he cut off the remaining head. Not long after they used magic so that the headaxes and spears went to kill all the people in the town. So the spears and headaxes went among the people and killed all of them, and Aponitolau swam in the blood and his son stood on the blood. "What is the matter with you, father, that you swim in the blood? Can't you use your power so you don't have to swim?" Then he took hold of him and lifted him up. As soon as all the people were killed they used their power so that all the heads and valuable things went to Kadalayapan.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note 1.

Aponibolinayen went to look at the *lawed* vine behind the stove and it looked like a jungle it was so green, so she believed that her son was alive. Not long after all the heads arrived in Kadalayapan and Aponibolinayen was surprised. Not long after she saw her husband and her son and she shouted and the world smiled. Not long after they went up into their house and summoned all the people and told them to invite all the people in other towns for Kanag had returned from fighting, and had his father. So the people went to invite their relatives. Not long after the people from other towns arrived and they danced. They were all glad that Aponitolau was alive again, and they went to see the heads of Gawigawen who killed Aponitolau.

As soon as the people returned to their towns, when the party was over, Aponitolau went to take a walk. When he reached the brook he sat down on a stone and the big frog went to lap up his spittle. Not long after the big frog had a little baby.<sup>1</sup> Not long after she gave birth, and the *anitos*<sup>2</sup> went to get the little baby and flew away with it. They used their power so that the baby grew fast and it was a girl, and they taught her how to make *dawak*.<sup>3</sup> Not long after the girl knew how to make *dawak*, and every time she rang the dish to summon the spirits.

Kanag went to follow his father, but he did not find him where he had been sitting by the brook, and Kanag heard the sound of the ringing which sounded like the *bananáyó*.<sup>4</sup> As soon as he heard it he stood still and listened. Not long after he used his power so that he became a bird and he flew. As soon as he arrived at the place where the girl was making *dawak* she said to him, "You are the only person who has come here. If you are an enemy cut me in only one place so I will not have so much to heal." "I am not an enemy; I came here for I heard what you were doing; so I became a bird and flew." Kanag gave betel-nut to her and they chewed. Their quids looked like the beads *pinogalan*, so they knew that they were brother and sister. The girl said to him, "Go inside of the big iron caldron so that the *anitos* who care for me will not eat you." So Kanag went inside of the big iron caldron. When the *anitos* did not arrive at the accustomed time Kanag went out of the caldron and said to his sister, "Now, my sister, I will take you to Kadalayapan. Our father and mother do not know that I have a sister. Do not stay always with the *anitos*." His sister replied, "I

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 16, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Spirits.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 13, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> An evil spirit which lives in the air and makes a sound like the medium when she is summoning the spirits.

cannot go to Sudipan<sup>1</sup> when no one is making *balaua*, for I always make *dawak* as the *anitos* taught me. If I come in Sudipan when no one is making *balaua* it would make all of the people very ill. So Kanag went home.

As soon as he arrived he told his father and mother to make *balaua* for he wanted his sister to see them. "We just made *balaua*. How can we make *balaua* again?" said his father and mother. "I want you to see my sister whom I found up in the air, where the *anitos* took her." "You are crazy, Kanag; you have no sisters or brothers; you are the only child we have." Kanag said to them, "It is sure that I have a sister. I don't know why you did not know about her. The *anitos* took her when she was a little baby and they taught her how to make *dawak*, and she always makes *dawak*. I wanted to bring her when I came back, but she said she could not come to Sudipan when no one makes *balaua*, for she is always making *dawak*. She said if she came to Sudipan and did not make *dawak* everyone would be ill, so I did not bring her. If you wish to see your daughter, father, make *balaua* at once." So they made *balaua*, for they wished to see their daughter.

They sent messengers to go and get betel-nuts which were covered with gold, and when they had secured the betel-nuts they oiled them and sent them to the different towns where their relatives lived, and they sent one into the air to go and get their daughter Agten-ngaEyan. So all the betel-nuts went and invited the people to the *balaua*. As soon as the betel-nut went up into the air it arrived where Agten-ngaEyan was making *dawak*. When she saw the betel-nut beside her she was startled, for it was covered with gold. She tried to cut it up, for she wished to chew it, and the betel-nut said, "Do not cut me, for your brother and father in Kadalayapan sent me to summon you to their *balaua*, for they are anxious to see you. So Agten-ngaEyan told the *anitos* that a betel-nut which was covered with gold had come to take her to Aponitolau who was making *Sayang*, and they wished to see her. The *anitos* let her go, but they advised her to return. So she went.

When they arrived in Kadalayapan the people from the other towns were dancing and she went below the *talagan*,<sup>2</sup> and Kanag went to see what it was that looked like a flame beneath the *talagan*. When he reached her he saw it was his sister and he tried to take her away from the *talagan*, and she said to him, "I cannot get off from here, for the *anitos* who care for me told me to stay here until someone comes to make *dawak* with me." So they sent the old woman Alokotán to

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<sup>1</sup> The spirit's word for world.

<sup>2</sup> A small bench made for the use of spirits and visiting mortals.

make *dawak* with her. All the people were surprised, for she made a pleasanter sound when she rang and they thought she was a *bananáyó*<sup>1</sup>. The young men who went to attend the *balaua* loved her, for she was pretty and knew very well how to sing the *dawak*. As soon as they finished the *dawak* she was free to leave the *talagan*, so her brother Kanag took her and put her in his belt<sup>2</sup> and he put her in the high house<sup>3</sup> so the young men could not reach her.

As soon as the *balaua* was over the people went home, but the young men still remained below the house watching her, and the ground below became muddy, for they always remained there.

When Kanag saw the young men below the house fighting about her, he took her again into the air so that the young men could not see her. As soon as they arrived in the air they met the *anitos*, and Kanag said to them, "I intended to keep my sister in Sudīpan, for I had made a little golden house for her to live in, but I have brought her back, for all the young men are fighting about her." The *anitos* were glad that she was back with them and they gave Kanag more power, so that when he should go to war he would always destroy his opponents. Agtenngaeyan used to go and teach the women how to make *dawak* when anyone made *balaua*, so that she taught them very well how to make *dawak*. This is all.

(Told by a medium named Magwati of Lagangilang.)

#### 14

"Ala, Aponībolinayen prepare our things, for we are going to plant sugar cane," said Aponītolau. Not long after they went to see the cuttings and they were big. They took them and planted them when they arrived at the place where they wished to plant them. Aponītolau planted them and Aponībolinayen watered them. Not long after Aponībolinayen used magic and she said, "I use my power so that all the cuttings will be planted." Soon they truly were all planted, so they went back home. After seven days Aponītolau went to look at them and their leaves were long and pointed so he used magic and said, "I used my power so that after five days all the sugar cane which we planted will be ready to chew." Then he went back home. In five days he went again to see them and as soon as he arrived at the planting he saw they were all tall and about ready to chew.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 63, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The term used is *al-ligan*—the high watch house in the fields.



Not long after Gaygayóma looked down on the sugar cane and she was anxious to chew it. "Ala, my father Bagbagak,<sup>1</sup> send the stars to go and get some of the sugar cane which I saw, for I am anxious to chew it," she said, for she was pregnant and desired to chew the sugar cane. Not long after, "Ala, you Salibobo<sup>2</sup> and Bitbitówen<sup>3</sup> let us go and get the sugar cane, for Gaygayóma is anxious to chew it," said Bagbagak. Not long after they went. As soon as they arrived where the sugar cane was, they went inside of the bamboo fence and some of them secured the beans which Aponibolinayen had planted. The stems of the bean pods were gold, and they got five of them. Most of them got one stalk of sugar cane. As soon as they secured them they went back up. When they arrived Gaygayóma chewed one of the sugar cane stalks and she felt happy and well, and she saw the beans with the golden stems and she cooked and ate them.

When she had chewed all the sugar cane which the stars had secured, she said, "Ala, my father Bagbagak, come and follow me to the place where the sugar cane grows, for I am anxious to see it." Not long after, "Ala, Salibobo and Bitbitówen we are going to follow Gaygayóma, for she wishes to go and see the place of the sugar cane. Some of you stay outside of the fence to watch and see if anyone comes, and some of you get sugar cane," said Bagbagak to them, and the moon shone on them. Soon they all arrived at the place of the sugar cane and they made a noise while they were getting the sugar cane, which they used to chew. Gaygayóma went to the middle of the field and chewed sugar cane. As soon as they had chewed all they wished they flew up again.

The next day Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "I am going to see our sugar cane, to see if any carabao have gone there to spoil it, for it is the best to chew." So he went. As soon as he arrived he saw that the sugar cane was spoiled, and he looked. He saw that there were many places near the fence where someone had chewed, for each one of the stars had gone by the fence to chew the cane which they wished. When he reached the middle of the field he saw the cane there which had been chewed, and there was some gold on the refuse and he was surprised and he said, "How strange this is! I think some beautiful girl must have chewed this cane. I will try to watch and see who it is. Perhaps they will return tonight." Then he went back home. As soon as he reached home he said, "Ala, Aponibolinayen cook our food early, for

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<sup>1</sup> One of the big stars.

<sup>2</sup> A different kind of star.

<sup>3</sup> Reduplicated form of *bitówen* = many stars.

I want to go and watch our sugar cane; someone has gone and spoiled it. They have also spoiled our beans which we planted." So Aponibolinayen cooked even though it was not time. As soon as she finished cooking she called Aponitolau and they ate. When they had eaten he went and he hid a little distance from the sugar cane.

In the middle of the night there were many stars falling down into the sugar cane field and Aponitolau heard the cane being broken. Soon he saw the biggest of them which looked like a big flame of fire fall into the field. Not long after he saw one of the other stars at the edge of the fence take off her dress, which was like a star, and he saw that she looked like the half of the rainbow, and the stars which followed her got the sugar cane which they wished. They chewed it by the fence and they watched to see if anyone was coming. Aponitolau said, "What shall I do, because of those companions of the beautiful woman? If I do not frighten them they will eat me. The best thing for me to do is to frighten them. I will go and sit on the star's dress."<sup>1</sup> He frightened them. The stars flew up and Aponitolau went and sat on the star dress.

Not long after the pretty girl came from the middle of the field to get her star dress; she saw Aponitolau sitting on it. "You, Ipogau,<sup>2</sup> you must pardon us, for we came to steal your sugar cane, for we were anxious to chew it." "If you came to get some of my sugar cane it is all right. The best thing for you to do is to sit down, for I wish to know your name, for we Ipogau have the custom to tell our names. It is bad for us if we do not know each others' names when we talk." Not long after he gave her betel-nut and the woman chewed it. As soon as they chewed, "Now that we have chewed according to our custom we will tell our names." "Yes, if that is what you say, but you must tell your name first," said the woman. "My name is Aponitolau who am the husband of Aponibolinayen of Kadalayapan." "My name is Gaygayoma who am the daughter of Bagbagak and Sinag,<sup>3</sup> up in the air," said the woman. "Ala, now you, Aponitolau, even though you have a wife I am going to take you up, for I wish to marry you. If you do not wish to come I will call my companion stars, and give you to them to eat." Aponitolau was frightened, for he knew that the woman who was talking was a spirit. "If that is what you say, and you do not wish me to go and see Aponibolinayen and you wish to be married to me, it is all right," said Aponitolau to her. Not long after the stars

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 15, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The spirits' name for mortals.

<sup>3</sup> The moon.

dropped the *galong-galong*<sup>1</sup> of gold which Gaygayóma had ordered to be made. As soon as they dropped it Aponitolau and Gaygayóma got in it, and were drawn up, and soon they were there.

As soon as they arrived he saw one of the stars come to the place where they were, and it was a very big star, for it was Bagbagak. "Someone is coming where we are," said Aponitolau to Gaygayóma. "Do not be afraid; he is my father," said Gaygayóma. "Those stars eat people if you do anything wrong to them." Not long after Bagbagak reached the place where they were. "It is good for you Aponitolau that you wished to follow my daughter here. If you had not we would have eaten you," he said. Aponitolau was frightened. "Yes, I followed her here, but I am ashamed before you who live here, for you are powerful," he said. While they were talking Bagbagak went back home.

After he had lived with Gaygayóma five months she had him prick between her last fingers and a little baby popped out, and it was a beautiful baby boy. "What shall we call our son?" said Aponitolau. "We are going to call him Tabyayen, because it is the name of the people who used to live above," said Gaygayóma. So they called him Tabyayen, and they used their power so that the baby grew all the time. Soon he was big. After three months, "Now Gaygayóma, let me go back down and see Aponibolinayen of Kadalayapan. I think she is searching for me. I will return soon, for you two are my wives," said Aponitolau, but Gaygayóma would not let him go. "Ala, let me go and I will return soon," he said again. "Ala, you go, but you come back here soon. I will send the stars to eat you if you do not wish to return," said Gaygayóma to him. "Yes," he said. Not long after he rode again in the *galong-galong*, and the stars followed, and they went down. Aponitolau wanted all of them to go to Kadalayapan, but he went alone and the stars and Gaygayóma and the boy went up.

Not long after Aponitolau said, "Wes" at the entrance to the yard of their house in Kadalayapan. Aponibolinayen got up from her mat and she had not eaten for a long time. When she looked at him she was very happy. Aponitolau saw that she was thin. "Why are you so thin, Aponibolinayen?" said Aponitolau. "I have not eaten since you went away. Where have you been so long? I thought that you were dead." "No, I did not die, but Gaygayóma took me up into the sky because they were the ones who spoilt our sugar cane. She would not let me come back any more, and she took me up. I did not want

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<sup>1</sup>A sort of enclosed seat in which babies are suspended from the house rafters.

to go with her, but she threatened to feed me to the stars who were her companions. So I was afraid, and I went with her, for she is a spirit."

When the day came on which Aponitolau and Gaygayóma had agreed for his return up, Aponitolau failed to go, because Aponibolinayen would not let him go. In the evening many stars came to the yard of their house and some of them went to the windows and some of them went beside the wall of the house, and they were very bright and the house looked as though it was burning. The stars said, "We smell the odor of the Īpogau and we are anxious to eat." Aponitolau said, "Hide me, Aponibolinayen, for those stars have come to eat me, because you would not let me go back to Gaygayóma. I told you that if I did not go back to her she would send the stars to eat me, and now truly they have come. I told you I would come back, but you would not let me go." Not long after the stars went inside of the house where they were, and they said to Aponitolau, "Do not hide from us, Aponitolau. We know where you are. You are in the corner of the house." "Come out of there or we will eat you," said Bagbagak. Soon he appeared to them and they said to him, "Do you not wish to come back up with us?" "I will go with you," he answered, for he was afraid. So they did not eat him, for Gaygayóma had told them not to eat him if he was willing to follow them. Not long after they flew away with him and Aponibolinayen cried. When they arrived up Gaygayóma said, "Why, Aponitolau, did you lie to me and not return? You were fortunate when you followed the stars, for if you had not they would have eaten you." "I did not return because Aponibolinayen would not let me. You and she are my wives. Do not blame me," said Aponitolau.

After he had lived with her eight months he said, "Now, I am going to leave you, for our son Tabyayen is large. If you will not let me take our son Tabyayen down, he can stay up here with you." "You may go now, but you cannot take our son. You will return here," said Gaygayoma. "Yes," said Aponitolau. So they went down again in the *galong-galong*. Aponitolau wanted to take them to Kadalayapan, but they would not go with him. "No, do not take us, for it is not our custom to stay down here; we are always above," they said. So they went up and Aponitolau went to Kadalayapan. Not long after he said, "Wes" at the yard of the house, and Aponibolinayen went to see who it was. She saw that it was Aponitolau, and she was very glad.

After one year with Aponibolinayen he said, "Command someone to pound rice, for we are going to make *balaua*, and I am going to call our son Tabyayen from above." Aponibolinayen had also given birth five days after Gaygayóma had given birth, and they called the boy Kanag.

Not long after Aponitolau went to take Tabyayen from above and Gaygayóma was very glad to see him. When they were talking he said, "Now I am going to take Tabyayen down, for I want him to attend our *Sayang*." "Yes, you may take him, but you must bring him back when the *Sayang* is finished." So Aponitolau took the boy to attend the *balaua* in Kadalayapan. As soon as they arrived there he began to play with Kanag and they were the same size and looked alike, because they were half brothers. While they were playing, during the *Sayang*, Kanag said, "Mother, it is showering," and Aponitolau heard what the boy said to Aponibolinayen. He said, "It is the tears of Tabyayen's mother, for I think she is thinking of him. I told them not to go over there, but they went anyway. I think Gaygayóma saw them playing and she cried." Then Aponibolinayen went to take them away from the yard where they were playing. She took them upstairs. It was at the time when they were building the *balaua*. Not long after that they made *Líbon*,<sup>1</sup> and they invited Gaygayóma and all their relatives from the other towns and they danced for one month. Then the people from the other towns went home. As soon as all the people had gone home Aponitolau went to take back the boy to his mother Gaygayóma.

When they arrived where Gaygayóma lived he gave the boy to her and he staid there three days. After three days he went back home, and he said, "I am going now, but I will come back in a few days, for I cannot live here all the time, for we, *Ipogau*, are accustomed to live below, and I also have another wife there. I cannot leave Aponibolinayen alone most of the time." So Gaygayóma let him go down and she said, "Yes, you may go, but you come back sometimes." "It is good that Tabyayen came down and made *Sayang* with us." Then he went down again. When he arrived down Aponibolinayen was glad to see him, for she feared he would not return to Kadalayapan. Not long after they arranged for Kanag to be married, and as soon as Kanag was married they arranged for Tabyayen also and he lived down below and Gaygayóma always staid above.

(Told by Lagmani, a man of Domayko.)

## 15

"I am going to wash my hair," said Aponitolau. Not long after he went to the river and washed his hair. As soon as he finished he took a bath and went back home. When he arrived in his house he said, "Aponibolinayen, please comb my hair." "Take the comb and

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 13, note 2.

go to Indiápan, for I have no time," answered Aponibolinayen. "If you have no time, give it to me then," said Aponitolau. Aponibolinayen was angry and went to get it for him. "What is the matter that you cannot go and get it yourself?" As soon as he got it Aponitolau went to Indiápan.

Kabkabaga-an, who lived up in the air, was looking down, and said, "Indiápan, you have good fortune, for Aponitolau will come and ask you to comb his hair." Not long after Aponitolau arrived. "Will you comb my hair, Indiápan, because Aponibolinayen is impatient and does not want to comb my hair?" "I am sleepy," said Indiápan. She sat down. "Ala, you come and comb my hair," said Aponitolau. Not long after Indiápan went to comb his hair and Aponitolau sat by the door. Kabkabaga-an looked down on them and said, "Indiápan has a good fortune, for she is combing the hair of Aponitolau." When she had combed his hair she went to lie down again and Aponitolau said to her, "Will you please cut this betel-nut into pieces, Indiápan." "You cut it. I am sleepy," answered Indiápan. "Hand me the headaxe then." So Indiápan handed the headaxe to him. As soon as she gave the headaxe to him she went to lie down again. When Aponitolau had cut the betel-nut he cut his first finger of his left hand. The blood went up in the air. "Ala, Indiápan, take your belt, for I cannot stop my finger from bleeding. Come and wrap it," said Aponitolau to her. So Indiápan got up and she went to get her belt and she wrapped his finger, but the blood did not stop, so she called Aponibolinayen, for she was frightened when she saw the blood go up. Aponibolinayen said, "What is the matter with you?" She took her hat which looked like a woodpecker and she went, and the sunshine stopped when she went down out of her house, and Kabkabaga-an saw Aponibolinayen going to Aponitolau. "What good fortune Aponibolinayen has, for she is going to see Aponitolau." As soon as she arrived where Indiápan lived she wrapped her belt around the finger of Aponitolau, but the blood did not stop and they were frightened. Aponibolinayen commanded their spirit helpers to get Ginalingan of Pindayan, who was a sister of Iwaginán, to make *dawak*<sup>1</sup> and stop the blood of Aponitolau. Not long after Indiápan and the spirit helpers arrived where Ginalingan lived they said, "Good afternoon, you must excuse us, for we cannot stay here long, for Aponibolinayen is in a hurry to have you come to Kaldalayapan to see Aponitolau. He cut his finger and his blood will not stop running, and we do not know what to do. You come and make *dawak*." Ginalingan said, "Even though I should go to make *dawak* we could do nothing,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 13.

for Kabkabaga-an, who lives in the air, loves him." "We must try and see if Kabkabaga-an will stop," said Indiápan, and Ginalingan went with them.

As soon as they arrived in Kadalayapan Aponibolinayen said to Ginalingan, "What is best for us to do for Aponitolau's finger?" Ginalingan said, "We cannot do anything. I told Indiápan that Kabkabaga-an loves Aponitolau and even if I make *dawak* we can do nothing, for Kabkabaga-an is one of the greatest spirits." Not long after Aponitolau had become a very little man and Ginalingan stopped making *dawak*, and she went home to Pindayan. Aponitolau became like a hair. Not long after he disappeared. "You are good, Indiápan, for Aponitolau disappeared in your house." So they cried together.

Not long after Aponibolinayen went back home and Aponitolau was up in the air. He sat below a tree in a wide field, and he looked around the field. Not long after he saw some smoke, so he went. As soon as he came near to the smoke he saw that there was a house there. "I am going to get a drink," he said. As soon as he arrived in the yard he said, "Wes," for he was tired, and Kabkabaga-an saw, from the window of her house, that it was Aponitolau. "Come up," she said. "No, I am ashamed to go up. Will you give me water to drink, for I am thirsty." Kabkabaga-an gave him a drink of water. As soon as he had drunk he sat down in the yard, for Kabkabaga-an could not make him go up. Not long after she went to cook. As soon as she cooked she called Aponitolau and he said to her, "You eat first. I will eat with your husband when he arrives." "No, come up. I think he will arrive very late." Not long after he went up, for he was hungry, and they ate. While they were eating Kabkabaga-an said to him, "I have no husband and I live alone; that is why I brought you up here, for I love you." Not long after she became pregnant and she gave birth. "What shall we call the baby?" said Ligi.<sup>1</sup> "Tabyayen." Not long after the baby began to grow, for Kabkabaga-an used magic, so that he grew all the time, and every time she bathed him he grew.

When the baby had become a young boy Kabkabaga-an said, "You can go home now, Aponitolau, for our son Tabyayen is a companion for me." "If you say that I must go home, I will take Tabyayen with me," said Aponitolau. She said, "We will tell my brother Daldalipáto,<sup>2</sup> who lives above, if you wish to take him." So they went truly. As soon as they arrived where Daldalipáto lived, he said, "How are you, Kabkabaga-an? What do you want?" "What do you want, you say.

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<sup>1</sup> Aponitolau.

<sup>2</sup> The name means "sparks of fire."

We came to tell you that Aponitolau wants to take Tabyayen." "Do you want to give him up to Aponitolau? If you let him go, it is all right," said Daldalipato, and Kabkabaga-an said, "All right." So they went home. As soon as they arrived where Kabkabaga-an lived she commanded some one to make something of gold to hold milk for the boy to drink and she filled it with the milk from her breasts. In the early morning she lowered her golden house by cords to the earth.

When it became morning Aponitolau awoke and he was surprised to see that they were in Kadalayapan. "Why, here is Kadalayapan." He went outdoors and Aponibolinayen also went outdoors. "Why, there is Aponitolau. I think he has returned from the home of Kabkabaga-an." Aponibolinayen went to him and was glad to see him, and she took her son Kanag who looked the same as Tabyayen, and they went to play in the yard. Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau did not know that they had gone to play. Not long after Tabyayen cried, for the tears of Kabkabaga-an fell on him and hurt him, so Aponibolinayen went down to the yard and took them up into the house.

Not long after Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "We will make *balaua* and we will invite Kabkabaga-an. I think that is why the boy cried." Aponibolinayen said, "Yes," and they truly made *Sayang*. Not long after they made *Libon*<sup>1</sup> in the evening, and they commanded the spirit helpers to go and get betel-nuts. As soon as they arrived with the betel-nuts Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen commanded, "You betel-nuts go and invite all our relatives and Kabkabaga-an." So one of the betel-nuts went to the place where Kabkabaga-an lived. As soon as it arrived up above it said, "Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen of Kadalayapan want you to attend their *balaua*. That is why I came here." Kabkabaga-an said, "Yes, I will follow you. You go first." When it became afternoon all the people from the other towns had arrived in Kadalayapan. When they looked under the *talagan*<sup>2</sup> they saw Kabkabaga-an, and Aponibolinayen went to take her hand, and they made her dance. As soon as she finished dancing she told Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau that she would go back home. "No, do not go yet, for we will make *pakálon* for Tabyayen first," said Aponibolinayen. "No, you care for him. I must go home now, for no one watches my house." Not long after she went, for they could not detain her, and they did not see her when she went. As soon as the *Sayang* was over they made *pakálon* for Kanag and Tabyayen, and Kanag married

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 13, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 56, note 6.



Dapilisan, and Tabyayen married Binaklingan, and the marriage price was the *balaua* about nine times full for each of them. As soon as they both were married Tabyayen staid in his house which had been up in the air before. Kanag staid in another house which Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen had.

(Told by Angtan of Lagangilang.)

## 16

"Look out for our children, Līgī, while I wash my hair," said Ayo. "Yes," said Līgī. As soon as Ayo reached the spring Līgī went to make a basket, in which he put the three little pigs which had little beads around their necks. As soon as he made the basket he put the three little pigs in it, and he climbed a tree and he hung the basket in it. Not long after he went down and Ayo went back home from the well. "Where are our children — the little pigs —?"<sup>1</sup> said Ayo to him. As soon as Līgī said he did not know, Ayo began to search for them, but she did not find them.

The little pigs which Līgī hung in the tree grunted, "Gēk, gēk, gēk," and the old woman, Alokotán of Nagbotobotán, went to take a walk. While she was walking she stopped under the tree where the pigs hung. She heard them grunting and she looked up at them and saw that the basket contained three pigs. "What man hung those little pigs in the basket in the tree? Perhaps he does not like them. I am going to get them and take them home, so that I will have something to feed." So she got them. She took them home, and she named the older one Kanag, the second one Dumalawi, the third was Ogoḡibeng.

Not long after the three little pigs, which had the beads about their necks, became boys, and Ogoḡibeng was naughty. When the old woman Alokotán gave them blankets, he was the first to choose the one he wished. "Shame, Ogoḡibeng, why are you always the naughtiest and are always selfish." "Yes, I always want the best, so that the girls will want me," said Ogoḡibeng. When Alokotán gave the belts, and clouts, and coats, he always took the best, and Kanag and Dumalawi were jealous of him, and they said bad things. Ogoḡibeng said to them, "I am not ashamed, for she is my mother, so I will take the best."

Not long after they were young men. "Mother Alokotán, will you let us go to walk? Do not worry while we are gone, for we will return soon," said the three young men. The old woman said "yes"

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<sup>1</sup> Similiar incidents, in which women give birth to snakes or animals, occur in Borneo. See EVANS, *Journal Royal Anthro. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, pp. 432 ff.

and they went. They agreed on the place they should go, and Ogoi-beng said to them, "We will go where the young girls spin." Kanag and Dumalawī agreed, so they went. Not long after they arrived where the young girls were spinning. "Good evening, girls," they said. "Good evening," they replied. "This is the first time you have been here, rich young men. Why do you come here?" "We came to join you and get acquainted," they said, and they talked. They waited for the girls to go home, but they did not go. Not long after it became morning, and they did not wait any longer for the girls to go home, so they went away. As soon as the three boys went home the young girls went to their homes also. Not long after they arrived where Alokotán was and they ate breakfast. As soon as they finished eating they went to take a walk again. Not long after they arrived in Kaodanan, in the middle of the day. "Good morning, Aunt," they said to Aponīgawani. "Good morning, my sons," she replied. "What do you come here for, boys?" "What do you come here for, you say, Aunt; we come to take a walk, for we are anxious to see you," they said. "That is good. Where did you come from?" said Aponīgawani. "We came from Nagbotobotán where our mother Alokotán lives." Not long after Aponīgawani went to cook for them to eat. As soon as she cooked she fed them. So they ate. Not long after they finished eating and they talked. After that it became night. When they had finished eating in the night they said, "We are going back home, Aunt, but first we are going to the place where those young girls spin." "No, I will not let you go back to Nagbotobotán now, for it is dark. If you are going to the place where the girls are spinning it is all right, but if you are going home I will not let you go down from the house, for I fear you will be lost." So the three young boys said to her, "If you will not let us go back home tonight we will go tomorrow, but we will go where the young girls spin." So Aponīgawani and Aponibalagen let them go to where the girls were spinning.

Not long after they arrived at the place where the young girls were and they said, "Good evening, young girls." "Good evening," answered the girls who were spinning. "Why do you come here, rich young men?" "Why do you come here," you say, we come to see you spin and to talk with you." Not long after they talked together, and the young men did not wait until the girls went home, for it became morning, so they went back home. As soon as they went away, the young girls went home. When the boys reached the house of Aponīgawani and Aponibalagen they told them they were going home to Nagbotobotán. Aponīgawani and Aponibalagen did not want to let them go until they had eaten breakfast. The three boys went even

though they did not want them to go. As soon as they reached Nagbotobotán the old woman Alokotán asked them where they had been, and she was very angry with them. "Do not be angry with us, mother, for we want to take a walk; we were not lost." "Where did you go, then?" "We went to Kaodanan to see the pretty girls who never go out doors, but we did not find any. We found some young girls spinning at night, but they were not as pretty as we wished, and we talked with them until morning, for we wanted to see where they lived, but we could not wait for them to go back home."

Not long after the old woman Alokotán went to cook. As soon as she finished cooking they ate. Not long after they finished eating and they agreed to go at once to Kadalayapan. The old woman Alokotán would not let them go, so when they finished eating at night they went to Kadalayapan without her consent. As soon as they arrived at the place where the young girls were spinning they said, "Good evening, young girls." "Good evening," the girls answered. "How are you? What do you want here?" "What do you want here,' you say, and we came to watch you spin and we want to talk with you." So they talked until morning, but the young boys could not wait until the girls went to their homes.

Ayo was still searching for the pigs who had become boys. She heard somebody say that three young boys were talking with the girls last night and they said to her that they were pretty young boys. Ayo said, "Those were my sons. I think they have become men." So she went around the town looking for them. Not long after she met them and she saw that they were no longer little pigs. "Where did you come from, my dear sons?" "We came from Nagbotobotán, Aunt," they answered. "Do not call me aunt, call me mother," said Aponibolinayen. The young boys would not call her mother. So Aponibolinayen pressed her breasts and the milk from her breasts went into Kanag's mouth, and when she pressed again the milk went into the mouth of Dumalawī, and when she pressed her breasts the third time the milk went to the mouth of Ogoḡibeng. So Aponibolinayen was sure that they were her sons. The little boys asked her why it was that the milk from her breasts went into their mouths. "I pressed my breasts to make sure that you are my sons. I am surprised that you have become men, for you were little pigs. That is why you must call me mother, not aunt. For a long time I have searched for you, and when I heard that you were talking with the young girls last night, I came to look for you." So the boys believed that she was their mother. "Why did we grow up in Nagbotobotán with our mother Alokotán, if you are truly our mother?" "I think she found you and took you away, for she is a good

woman. She thought you were lost and took you to Nagbotobotán." So Aponibolinayen took them home.

As soon as they arrived home Aponibolinayen said to Aponitolau, "Here are our sons whom I found. They said that they came from Nagbotobotán and that Alokotán was their mother. I told them that I was their mother, but they did not believe me." "I do not believe that they are our sons, for our children were three little pigs." "I also had doubts when I met them, but I pressed my breasts and the milk went to their mouths, so I am sure that they are our sons." Aponitolau was glad that they were men, for he did not want them when they were pigs.

Not long after Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "We are going to make *balaua*, so that we can invite all our relations in the other towns, especially Alokotán." Aponibolinayen used magic, so that when she put a grain of rice in each of twelve big jars they were filled.<sup>1</sup> Not long after Aponitolau commanded his spirit helpers to go and get betel-nuts, to send to the relatives who lived in other places, to invite them. As soon as one of the betel-nuts arrived in Nagbotobotán it said, "Good afternoon, old woman Alokotán. I cannot stay long. Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau sent me to invite you to attend their *Sayang*." "I cannot go, for I am searching for my three sons." "If you do not come I will grow on your knee." "You go first and I will follow, but I cannot stay there long." Not long after all the people from the other towns arrived and they danced until the old woman Alokotán arrived. The three young boys went to hide when Alokotán arrived. Not long after when the *balaua* was nearly finished, "I cannot wait until your *balaua* is finished, for I am searching for my three boys." "Do not go home yet, for we will see if they will come here to see the young girls. Perhaps they are near here," said Aponitolau. Not long after the three boys appeared to her and Alokotán was glad to see them. "Where have you been, my sons?" "We came to this town and we intended to go back to Nagbotobotán, but our mother Aponibolinayen saw us and she detained us, for she was sure that we are her sons. She pressed her breasts and the milk came into our mouths." The old woman Alokotán was surprised and she went to Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau and talked with them. "Are you sure those boys are your sons? They are my sons. They grew up with me." "Yes, we are sure that they are my sons, for the milk from my breasts went to their mouths. I am surprised that they have become men, for they were three pigs. I searched for them a long time. That is why I was sur-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 17, note 3.

prised when I saw them, so I pressed my breasts." "Why were you searching for them? Did someone else hang them in the tree?" said Alokotán. Aponibolinayen was surprised and she asked Aponitolau if he saw someone hang the little pigs in the tree while she was washing her hair. Aponitolau laughed, "I did not see anyone get them." One of the women had seen Aponitolau hang them in the tree and she told Alokotán that Aponitolau had hung them up. Alokotán hated Aponitolau and she asked why he had hung them in the tree. "I went to hang them up for I was ashamed, because they were not men but pigs." "That is why you hung them up. You have power. If you did not want them to be pigs you could change them to men. If I had not found them, perhaps they would have died." Not long after the *balaua* was finished, and the people went home, and the old woman Alokotán went home after the others. She gave all her things to the three boys. This is all.

(Told by Angtan of Langangilang).

## 17

Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau had a son and they called him Kanag Kabagbagowan, who was Dumalawī every afternoon. Soon he became a young man and he went to make love to Aponitolau's concubines. When Aponitolau went where his concubines were he said, "Open the door." The women did not open the door, but answered, "We do not want to open the door unless you are Dumalawī." "Please open the door," said Līgī<sup>1</sup> to them. The women did not open the door, so he went back home and he was very angry. In the second night Aponitolau went again. "Good evening, women," he said. "Good evening," said the women, and Aponitolau asked them to open the door. "You put your hands into the door and let us see if the marks on the wrist are the marks on Kanag Kabagbagowan." Aponitolau showed them his hands and they said, "You are not Kanag, but you are Līgī, and we do not wish you." Līgī was very angry and he went back home.

Five days later he said, "Sharpen your knife, Kanag, and we will go to cut bamboo. So Kanag sharpened his knife. Not long after they went where many bamboo grew. As soon as they reached the place Līgī said, "You go up and cut the bamboo and sharpen the ends." Līgī cut the bamboo below him. As soon as Līgī had cut many bamboo he asked Kanag if he had cut many, and Kanag said, "Yes." "Did you sharpen the ends? If you pointed them, put them in one place." Kanag soon put them in one place. After that Aponitolau said to him,

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<sup>1</sup> Aponitolau.

"Ala, my son, throw them at me so that we can see which is the braver of us." "Ala, you are the first if you want to kill me." Not long after Aponitolau threw all the bamboo at Kanag, but did not hit him. "Ala, you are the next, my son," said Aponitolau. Kanag said, "No, I do not want to throw any at you, for you are my father and I am ashamed." Aponitolau said, "If you do not wish to throw at me we will go back home." As soon as they arrived in Kadalayapan Kanag laid down in their *balaua*. When they called him at meal time he did not wish to go.

When Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen finished eating they said, "If you do not wish to eat we will go to see our little house in the fields." "We will go and fix it so we will have some protection during the rainy season," said Aponitolau. So they went truly. As soon as they arrived at the little house in their farm, "Dig up the jar of *basi*<sup>1</sup> which I buried when I was a boy." So Kanag dug up the *basi* which Aponitolau had made when he was a little boy. As soon as he had dug it up they drank it, and they put the *basi* in a big coconut shell. Aponitolau made his son drink a shell full of *basi*, so Kanag truly drank all of it. "Ala, dip again and I will drink next," said Ligī to him, and Ligī drank a shell cup of *basi*. "Ala, dip again, we will drink three shell cups of this *basi*," said Ligī. When Kanag had drunk the three shells of wine he was drunk and he slept. As soon as he was asleep, "What shall I do now," said Ligī to himself. "The best thing for me to do is to send him away with the storm." So he used his magical power and soon the big storm came and took Kanag to Kalaskigan while he was sleeping.

Not long after Aponitolau went back home to Kadalayapan. Aponibolinayen asked him where Kanag was. "I thought he came ahead of me," Ligī said. "I think you have killed him," said Aponibolinayen, "for you think he loves your concubines." Aponitolau went to lie down in their *balaua* and Aponibolinayen laid down in the house and their hair grew long along the floor, they laid so long.

Not long after Kanag awoke and he saw that he was in the middle of a field so wide that he could not see the edges of it. "How bad my father is to me, for he sent me here," he said. The best thing for me to do is to create people so that I will have neighbors. I will use magic so that many betel-nut trees will grow in the middle of the field." Not long after the betel-nut trees bore fruit which was covered with gold. He took the betel-nuts and cut them in many pieces. In the middle of the night he used his power and he said, "I will use magic and when I scatter all the betel-nuts which I have cut, they will become women and men, who will be my neighbors tomorrow."

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<sup>1</sup> Sugar cane rum.

Not long after it became morning and he saw that he had many neighbors and he heard many people talking near to his house and many roosters crowing. So Kanag was glad, for he had many companions. He went down the ladder, and he went where the people were burning fires in the yards of their houses, and he went to see all of them. While he was visiting them he saw Dapilísan in the yard of her house and Kanag said to Bangan and Dalonágan, "My Aunt Bangan and my Uncle Dalonágan, do not be surprised, for I want to marry your daughter Dapilísan." "If you marry our daughter, your father and mother will be greatly ashamed," said Dalonágan. Kanag said to them, "My father and mother did not want me and they will not interfere." So they were married.

"The best way for us to do, Dapilísan, is for us to make *Sayang*," said Kanag. So Dapilísan commanded someone to go and get the betel-nut fruit which was covered with gold. Not long after, "Ala, you betel-nuts which are covered with gold come here and oil yourselves, and go and invite all the people to come and attend our *Sayang*." So the betel-nuts oiled themselves and they went to invite the people in the different towns. Not long after they went. One of the betel-nuts went to Kadalayapan, and one went where Kanag's sweetheart lived. Some of them went to Pindayan and Donglayan, which is the home of Iwaginan and Gimbangonan.

Not long after Aponibolinayen was anxious to chew betel-nut. "I am going to chew. What ails me, for I am so anxious to chew? I had not intended to eat anything while Kanag is away." She looked up at her basket, and she saw that an oiled betel-nut, which was covered with gold, was in it. She picked it up and tried to cut it. "Do not cut me, for I came to invite you, for Kanag and his wife Dapilísan sent me to summon you to their *Sayang* in Kalaskigan," said the betel-nut. Aponibolinayen was glad when she heard that Kanag was alive. So she got up and told all the people of Kadalayapan to wash their hair so that they might attend the *Sayang* in Kalaskigan. The people asked who was making *Sayang* in Kalaskigan, and she replied that it was Kanag and his wife Dapilísan. Not long after they washed their clothes and hair, and took a bath. When it became afternoon they went and Aponitolau followed them, and he looked as if he was crazy. As soon as they arrived at the river near the town of Kalaskigan, Kanag saw them and there were many of them by the river. He sent crocodiles and they went to take the people across the river. Aponitolau was the first who rode on one of the crocodiles and the crocodile dived, so Aponitolau went back again to the bank of the river. Not long after Aponitolau's companions were all on the other side of the river, and he was alone, for the

crocodiles would not carry him across. He shouted as if crazy, and Kanag sent one of the crocodiles to get him. Not long after one crocodile went where Aponitolau was, and he stood on its back and it took him to the other side of the river.

When they all sat down beside the river, Dalonagan said, "What shall we use for the *alawig*,<sup>1</sup> for your father and mother?" "The singed pig, for it is the custom of the people in Kadalayapan," said Kanag to his mother-in-law. "Go and get some of the pigs and singe them," said Dalonagan to him. Not long after he singed the pigs and he carried them to the people, and his wife Dapilisan carried one little jar which looked like a fist, filled with *basi*. As soon as the woman who was making *Sayang* had finished the *diam*<sup>2</sup> near by the well, Dapilisan made the people drink the *basi* which she carried. Each person drank from a golden cup filled with *basi* from out of the little jar which looked like a fist, and one third of the *basi* in the jar was still left.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the people drank they took them up to the town.

When they arrived in the town Aponibolinayen was anxious for them to chew betel-nut. So she gave some to Kanag and his wife Dapilisan and to some others. So they chewed and Kanag said to them, "You are first to tell your names." "My name is Aponitolau of Kadalayapan," said the man who looked like he was crazy. "My name is Aponibolinayen." As soon as they had told their names Kanag was the next and he said, "My name is Kanag Kabagbagowan who was carried by the big storm." "My name is Dapilisan, who is the daughter of Bangan and Dalonagan, who is the wife of your son Kanag, for whom you did not make *pakálon*. It is bad if you do not like the marriage." "Our daughter, Dapilisan, we like you, for Kanag wanted to marry you," said Aponibolinayen. Not long after the *balaua* was nearly finished, but the people were still dancing. "Now my *abalayan*<sup>4</sup> Dalonagan, we are going to pay the marriage price according to the custom," said Aponibolinayen. "Our custom is to fill the *balaua* nine times with the different kind of jars." So Aponibolinayen said, "Ala, you *alan*<sup>5</sup> who live in the different springs and *bananáyoy*<sup>5</sup> of Kaodanan and you *liblibayan*,<sup>5</sup> go and get the jars, *malayo* and *tadogan*, *sumadag* and *ginlasan* and *addeban* and *gumtan*, which Kanag must pay as the marriage price for Dapilisan." As soon as she had commanded they went, and they filled the *balaua* nine times, and Aponibolinayen said to Dalonagan,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 41, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 17, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 73, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Lesser spirits.



"I think now that we have paid the marriage price," and Dolonágan said, "No, there is more still to pay." "All right, if we still owe, tell us and we will pay." So Dalonágan called her big pet spider and said, "You, my pet spider, go around the town of Kalaskīgan and spin a thread as you go, on which Aponibolinayen must string golden beads."

When the spider had put a thread around the town Dalonágan said to Aponibolinayen, "Now, you put golden beads on the spider's thread which surrounds the town." Aponibolinayen again commanded the *liblibayan*, *alan*, and the other spirits to go and get the golden beads. As soon as they secured the beads they put them on the thread which surrounded the town. Not long after they arrived and they strung the beads on the thread. As soon as they finished, Dalonágan hung on the thread to see if it would break. Dapilísan said, "Ala, you thread of the spider be strong and do not break, or I shall be ashamed." Truly, the thread did not break when Dalonágan hung on it. "Ala, my *abal-ayan*, is there any other debt?" asked Aponibolinayen, and Dalonágan said, "No more." When the *balana* was over the people who went to attend the *Sayang* went home, and Aponibolinayen said to Kanag, "Now, we will take you back to Kadalayapan, and he replied, "No, for I wish to live here." When they could not take him to Kadalayapan, Aponibolinayen said to Aponitolau, "I am going to stay here with him," but Aponitolau would not let her stay, but took her back.

(Told by Angtan of Lagangilang).

## 18

Aponibolinayen went to the spring. As soon as she arrived there she washed her hair. When she washed her hair she dived into the water, and she did not know that blood from her body was being washed away by the water.

"I am going to the spring," said the *alan*, who was Inil-lagen. As soon as she arrived at the river she took her headaxe and scooped up the blood which was carried by the stream and she went back to Dagápan. As soon as she reached her house she put the blood on a big plate which was inherited through nine generations, and she covered it.

"I am going to the well," said Aponigawanī of Natpangan. As soon as she arrived she burned rice straw, which had been inherited nine times, and she put it in the pot with water. After that she took the water from the jar and put it in the coconut shell and she washed her hair. As soon as she washed her hair she dived in the river, and she washed her arm beads which twinkled in the evening, and she did not know that her blood was flowing and was being carried away by the stream.

"I am going to the well," said the *alan* Apinganan who lived in Bagonan, and she saw the blood of Aponigawanī, and she secured it on her headaxe, and she put it inside of her belt. After that she went home. As soon as she arrived in her house she put the blood in the big dish, which had been nine times inherited, and she covered it.

"I am going to uncover my toy," said the *alan* Inil-lagen. "No do not uncover me, grandmother; I have no clout and belt," said the little boy. So she gave him a clout and belt and after that she uncovered it. Ala, we will give him the name of Ilwisan of Dagápan," said all the *alan*.

"I am going to uncover my toy," said the *alan* Apinganan. "No, do not uncover me, because I have no clout and belt," said the little boy. So Apinganan gave him a clout and belt and uncovered him. "Ala, there is no other good name, but Dondonyán of Bagonan.

"I am going to fight," said Dondonyán of Bagonan. He took his headaxe, which was one span long, and he went to get Ilwisan of Dagápan, and so Ilwisan took his headaxe, which was one span long, and they went. As soon as they got out of the town they began to strike their shields with a stick. The sound of the beating was as great as that made by one hundred. As soon as Aponibolinayen heard the noise of the shields she shouted and Danay of Kabisilan shouted also, and those who shouted were the ladies who always staid in the house.<sup>1</sup> When they passed by the spring of Natpangan Aponigawanī shouted. When they passed by Pindayán, Gimbagonan shouted and the world trembled while she shouted.

While they were walking they arrived at the spring of Giambōlan of Kaboyboyan, who was an *alzado*.<sup>2</sup> Not long after they reached the *alzado* woman at the spring, for she was still making *Sayang*. Not long after Ilwisan of Dagápan killed the tattooed *alzados*, who were more than one hundred, who were dipping water from the spring. "We go to the town," said Ilwisan of Dagápan to Dondonyán. "Yes," he said, and they went. As soon as they arrived in the town, Giambōlan saw them and he was surprised, for they were two boys who entered the town. "You little boys who come in my town, you are the first who ever came here," said Giambōlan, who had ten heads. He went up into the house and the little boys said, "Take your headaxe and spear Giambōlan; although we are little boys we are not afraid of you, for we came here to fight with you. It is the last of your life now." "Giambōlan, you first fight against us," said Ilwisan. He used his power. "You headaxe and spear of Giambōlan, if he throws you against us, do not strike us."

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 54, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

When all the spears and headaxes of Gĩambōlan were lost, the boys truly were not hurt. "Now we are next to throw our spears. You, our headaxes, when we strike and throw the spear you pierce the side of Gĩambōlan," they said. "Not long after Gĩambōlan laid down. "You, my headaxe, cut off the heads of Gĩambolan at one blow," they said. So the ten heads were cut off. "You, my spear and headaxe, go and kill all the people in the houses of the town, who live with Gĩambōlan," they said. The spears and headaxes went and killed all the people in the town, and the pig troughs were floating in blood toward the river. "You, heads, gather together in the yard of Gĩambōlan. You, heads of the women, separate, and you, heads of Gĩambōlan, go first, and you, storm, carry the house of Gĩambōlan. You go near to our house in Dagápan."

"I will tramp on the town of Gĩambōlan so it will be like the ocean," they said. Not long after the town was like the ocean. They went home and they followed after the heads, which they sent first to their town. Not long after, "I use my power so that we arrive at once in Dagápan," said Ilwisan. So they arrived truly.

"All the heads of Gĩambōlan stay by the gate of the town; all the heads of the people who live with him stay around the town."

"You *alan* who look like me, we will go and see Ilwisan and make him go into the house, for he has returned from fighting." Not long after they made him climb the *sangap*<sup>1</sup> so he could talk with the star, it was so high. Ilwisan did not climb, but he jumped over the ladder and he did not touch it. "You, *alan*, take down the *gansas* for we are going to have a big party, for we have come back from fighting." So the *alan* took down the *gansas* and they danced. "You send your people to go and invite our relatives," said Ilwisan, "so that they will come to attend my big party, for I have returned from the fight." So they sent the messengers to the towns where the relatives lived.

When the spirit messengers arrived by the *balaua* where Aponitolau of Kadalayapan was lying down, "Good morning," they said. "How are you," said Aponitolau. "I came here because Ilwisan of Dagápan sent me to get you, for they make a big party, for they have returned from fighting." "This is the first time I have heard of a town called Dagápan," said Aponitolau. "You people who live with me, come with me and we all will go to Dagápan, because Ilwisan will make a big party, for he has returned from fighting; all you ladies who stay in the house come also."

Not long after they went and Aponitolau guided them, and they met

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 10, note 2.

the people who live in Natpangan and Pindayan in the way. Gim-bagonan, who was the wife of Iwaginan, and Danay of Kabisilan went to Dagápan. When they arrived at the spring of Ilwisan of Dagápan they all stopped. "We will all stop here and wait until someone comes to meet us," said Aponitolau. Not long after Ilwisan and Dondonyan saw all the visitors who were at the spring, so they went to meet them. Each of them took a glass of *basi* and gave the drink to them. When they had all drank they took them up to the town. Not long after, when they arrived in the town, they sat down, and Aponitolau and the other people took the *gansa*, and Iwaginan took the *alap*<sup>1</sup> and they danced first with Aponibolinayen. As soon as they finished dancing they took out of their belts the girls who never go out doors, and they joined the people. The girl whom Aponibolinayen took out of her belt was Daliknáyan, and the girls whom Aponigawani took out of her belt were Indiápan, and Alama-an, and the girl whom Danay of Kabisilan took out of her belt was Asigtanán, and the girl whom Gim-bagonan took out of her belt was Dalonagan.<sup>2</sup> As soon as they had taken the girls out they made them sit in one row and the circle of people was very bright, because of the girls, for they were all pretty. After that Iwaginan made Daliknáyan and Dalonagan and Alama-an and Asigtanán dance with Ilwisan of Dagápan. When they had danced across the circle five times they stopped. As soon as they finished dancing Iwaginan made Aponitolau dance with Danay of Kabisilan. When Aponitolau stamped his feet as he was dancing all the fruit of the coconut trees fell down. After they finished Balogagayan and Gim-bagonan danced. After they danced Kabin-na-ogan of Kabitaulan danced with Aponigawani. After they danced they went to eat. The food was of thirty different kinds, and they were abashed in the golden house of Ilwisan, which had many valuable jars in it, for the *alan* had given them to him.

As soon as they finished eating they gathered again, and the *alan* Kilagen told them that Ilwisan was the son of Aponibolinayen, and Dondonyán was the son of Aponigawani. She said, "The reason that we made your son come to life was that we might have someone to give our things to, for we have no children to inherit them." "If that is so we are going to change their names. Ilwisan will be Kanag Kabag-bagowan," said Aponitolau. "Dondonyán will be Dagoláyen, who is a rich man." "Now it is two months since we came here and we go home," they all said. As soon as they agreed, the *alan* gave them

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<sup>1</sup> The cloth used in dancing. See p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 63, note 1.

valuable things. Aponitolau used his power and the golden house of Kanag which the *alan* gave him was pulled up and went to Kadalayapan and the gold house of Dondonyán went to Natpangan. Aponigawani used her power, and when it became morning Kanag cried because his golden house of Dagápan, which was the *alan's* town, went to Kadalayapan. "Do not cry, Kanag; this is your town; we are your father and mother." So Kanag stopped crying.

The next month Kanag said to his father and mother, "The best thing for you to do is to engage me to Daliknáyan, who never goes out doors, and there is no one to compare with her, who looks like the firefly in the evening, and her footprints are loved by all the men, for they look like the rainbow." Not long after Aponibolinayen took the golden beads, which look like the moon, to use as an engagement present. Not long after Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau arrived at Kabisilan. "Good morning, Aunt Danay," they said. "How are you?" said Danay. "Come up and we will eat." They went up the stairs, and Danay took the rice out of the jar and took out the meat, and they ate. As soon as they finished eating, "We cannot stop here long, for we are in a hurry," and they showed her the gold which was like the moon, for they wished to make the engagement. Danay of Kabisilan agreed, and they set a day for *pakálon*, and it was three days later. Not long after they went back home. As soon as they arrived they told their son Kanag and he was very happy.

When the day for *pakálon* came they summoned all the people, and so they went, and some of them went first. "You, my jar, *bilibili*, and my jar *ginlasan*, and you my jar *malayo*, go first." So all the jars preceded them, and they followed. Not long after they arrived. When all the people whom they invited arrived, they fed them all. When they had all finished eating, "Now that we have finished eating we are going to settle on the price." My *balaua* must be filled eighteen times with different jars before Kanag and Daliknáyan can be married." So they filled the *balaua* eighteen times. "Now that the *pakálon* is finished and we have paid the price, we will take her home, and you prepare the food for her to take." So they started to fix a box for her with pillows, and they gave her a golden hat which looked like a bird, and she put her skirt on her head and it twinkled. Not long after they went. As soon as they arrived in Kadalayapan, they went upstairs, and they made her sit on the bamboo floor, and they counted the bamboo strips on which she sat, and it was an arm span long of agate beads.<sup>1</sup> Not long after they had a son and they named him Dumalawig. This is all.

(Told by Magwati of Lagangilang).

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 12.

## 19

"I am going to hunt deer with the dogs, mother," said Kanag. "No, do not go, you will be lost," said Aponibolinayen. "No, I will not be lost. Give me provisions to take," he said, and he fretted so his mother let him go, and she gave provisions, for she could not prevent him from going. So he went.

"Ey-Ey-kōta, my puppy, Ey-Ey, my fat dog, do not catch anything until we reach the middle of the wood, which is the place where the *anteng* tree grows." Not long after while he was walking the puppy went into the jungle and it barked in the wood. He went to reach it. When he arrived he saw that what the puppy barked at was a very small house by the resin tree. He went up to the house. Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen went to hide under the hearth and Kanag did not go out of the house until the girl appeared. One night had passed, then the girl who owned the house appeared. He saw that she was a beautiful girl and they talked. "It is not good for us to talk until we know our names," said Dumanau,<sup>1</sup> and he gave her betel-nut, and she did not receive it, so he made it very good so that she wanted it after two days. After that she received the betel-nut which was covered with gold. As soon as they chewed, "You first tell your name, for you live here; it is not good for me to tell first, for I come from another place," said Dumanau. "No, it is not good for a girl to tell her name first. You are a boy and even though you came from another place you tell your name first," said Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen. "My name is Dumanau, who is the son of Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau of Kadalayapan." "My name is Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen, who is the daughter of an *alan* in Matawatawen. When they put down their quids, they laid in good order as agates with no holes in them. "We are close relatives, and it is good for us to be married." So they married.

Three years passed. "The best thing is for us to take our house to Kadalayapan, and go there; perhaps my father and mother are searching for me." "No, we must not go, because I am ashamed, for they did not engage me to you," said Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen. "No, we go; we must not stay always in the jungle," he said. So in the middle of the night Dumanau used his power. "I use my magic so that this house we are in goes to Kadalayapan. You stand there by our house," he said; so the little house went there while they were asleep. The next morning Wanwanyen was surprised because many chickens were crowing and many people were talking, and when she went to look out of the window there were many houses. "Why, Dumanau, it is not the jungle

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<sup>1</sup> Another name for Kanag.

where we are now; where are we?" she said. "It is the town of Kadalayapan."

Not long after their three children went to look out of the window and they saw the sugar cane, and they were anxious to chew it. "Father, go and get the sugar cane for us to chew," they said. Dumanau went, and he advised Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen to fasten the door while he was gone. "If anyone comes do not open the door." He went, and Dumanau's father and mother were frightened, because the little house was by their dwelling, for there was no little house there before. As soon as Dumanau arrived in the house of his father and mother they were surprised, for they had searched for him three years. They asked where he had been, and he said he had found a wife in the wood when he had staid for three years. He told his mother that she must not go to his house and say bad words to his wife. So Dumanau went to the place of the sugar cane, and his mother went to the house and said bad words to his wife. "Open the door, you bad woman, who has no shame. You are the cause of my son being lost, and we spent much time to find him. What did you come here for, worthless woman?" said Aponibolinayen. Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen did not answer her. Not long after Dumanau arrived at their house and Wanwanyen said to him, "It is true what I told you. I told you not to go and you did truly, and your mother came and said many bad words. I said it was best for us to stay always in Matawatawen, but you paid no heed. Now my stomach is sick, for your mother came here to say many bad things to us." Not long after she died. Dumanau sharpened his headaxe and spear, for he wanted to kill his mother, because she said bad things to his wife Wanwanyen, but he did not kill her, because she fastened the door.

As soon as Dumanau arrived in their house he made a *tabalang*<sup>1</sup> of gold, and put the body of Wanwanyen inside of it, and he put a golden rooster on top of it. As soon as he finished he put the body of Wanwanyen inside of it. As soon as he had done this he said, "If you pass many different towns where the people get water, you rooster crow." The rooster said, "Tatalao, I am *tabalang* of Kadalayapan; on top of me is a golden rooster." He pushed the *tabalang* into the river and so it floated away. When it passed by the springs in the other towns, the rooster said, "Tatalao, I am *tabalang* of Kadalayapan, and on top of me is a golden rooster." That is what the rooster always said when they passed the springs in the other towns.

Dumanau wandered about as if crazy, and his oldest son walked in front of him. He carried the next child on his back and carried the third

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<sup>1</sup> A raft. See p. 24, note 1.

on his hip. When the *tabalang* arrived in Nagbotobotán, "Tatalao, I am *tabalang* of Kadalayapan, and on me is a golden rooster," said the rooster on the *tabalang* which was made of gold. The old woman Alokotán was taking a bath by the river and she was in a hurry to put on her skirt and she followed the *tabalang*. "You *tabalang*, where did you come from? Are you the *tabalang* of Kapaolan? If you are not from Kapaolan, are you from Kanyogan?" The *tabalang* did not stop and it nearly went down into the hole where the stream goes.<sup>1</sup> So Alokotán ran very fast. "Are you *tabalang* from Kaodanan?" The *tabalang* hesitated a little. "Are you *tabalang* of Kadalayapan?" "Yes," said the *tabalang* and stopped; so she went inside of the *tabalang* and she took the body to her house. She was afraid of the *tabalang*, because it was made of gold and she was surprised because the woman who was inside was beautiful and there was no one to compare with her. As soon as they arrived to her house, "I whip perfume *alikadadak* and make her wake up directly." "I whip my perfume *banauēs* and directly she will say, 'Wes,'" "I whip my perfume *dagimonau* and directly she will wake up entirely."<sup>2</sup> "How long I slept, grandmother," said Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen. The old woman Alokotán took her inside of the house. "'How long my sleep,' you say, and you were dead. There is the *tabalang* they put you in and I was surprised, for it was made of gold and has a golden rooster on top of it. They used it to send you down the river." Not long after the old woman Alokotán hid her, and Dumanau, who was always wandering about with his children, approached the place where the women were dipping water from the spring. All the women who were dipping water from the well said, "Here is a lone man who is carrying the babies. We agree that we all salute him at one time." As soon as they agreed Dumanau arrived to the place where they were dipping water and he said, "Good day, women." "Good day also," answered all the women in unison. "Where are you going, lone man who is carrying the babies?" "'Where are you going,' you say, women. I am following Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen whom I put inside the *tabalang* for she was dead. Did you see the *tabalang* pass here?" said Dumanau. "It passed by here long ago. Perhaps it is in Nagbotobotán now." "Ala, I leave you now, women, and I go and follow." "Yes," answered the women.

While they were walking they arrived in Nagbotobotán and Dumanau saw the *tabalang* in the yard by the house of Alokotán and they

<sup>1</sup>The Tinguian believe that the rivers and waters finally empty over the edge of the world at a place known as Nagbotobotán.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 18, note 1.



exchanged greetings. "Good afternoon," they said, and Alokotán took them upstairs; so they went up. Not long after while they were talking, "This was my *tabalang*, my grandmother old woman Alokotán; bring out of hiding Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen, so that I may take her home," said Dumanau, and the old woman Alokotán did not bring her out because she did not believe that he was the husband of Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen; so she used magic, and when she found that he was the husband of Wanwanyen she said, "She is over there. I hid her." So she went to get her and Dumanau, was joyful, for he saw Wanwanyen alive again. "Ala, now grandmother old woman Alokotán, how much must I pay, because you saved my wife Wanwanyen?" "That is all right, no pay at all. That is why I stay in this place so as to watch and see if any of my dead relatives pass by my house and I make them alive again. If you were not my relative I would have let her go." So Dumanau thanked her many times and they went back home.

Not long after they arrived in Kadalayapan. "The best for us to do, Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen, is for us to build *balaua* and invite all of our relatives; perhaps you are not the daughter of an *alan*," said Dumanau. "Why not? I am the daughter of the *alan*," said Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen. "Ala, let us build *balaua* anyway." Not long after they commanded people to pound rice, and as soon as Wanwanyen was ready she commanded someone to go and secure the betel-nuts which were covered with gold. As soon as they arrived they oiled them. When it became evening they made *Libon*.<sup>1</sup> The next morning they sent the betel-nuts to invite their relatives. So they went. Not long after, "I am anxious to chew betel-nut. What is the matter with me?" said Aponigawanī, who was lying down on her bed. As soon as she got up she found an oiled betel-nut which was covered with gold beside her. "Do not cut me; I came to invite you to the *balaua* which Wanwanyen and Dumanau make," said the betel-nut, when she took it intending to cut it. So Aponigawanī told the people of Kaodanan to start to attend *balaua* with Dumanau and Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen. She was surprised because Dumanau had arrived, for they had heard that he was lost when he went to hunt deer. She said, "Perhaps he met a lady who never goes outdoors, who has power, when he went to hunt deer." Not long after, "Ala, you people who live in the same town, let us go now to Kadalayapan for Dumanau's and Wanwanyen's *balaua*."

As soon as they arrived in the place where the people dipped water

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 13, note 2.

from the spring they asked where the ford was. "You look for the shallow place," said the people who were dipping the water. Not long after they went across the river and some of the people who were dipping water went to notify the people making *balaua* that the visitors were there, so Dumanau and Wanwanyen went to the gate of the town and met them there and made *alawig*.<sup>1</sup> Aponīgawanī and Aponībolinayen looked at the woman who was the wife of Dumanau and she was almost the same as Aponīgawanī. As soon as they finished *alawig* they took them up to the town. While they were sitting, Aponīgawanī was anxious to know who Dumanau's wife really was, so she went to Dumanau and said that they were going to chew betel-nut. "That is the best way to do so that we may know if we are related," said Dumanau. So they took the betel-nuts and divided them in pieces. "You tell your name first, because you are the people who live here." "No, my uncle, you old men are the first to tell your names." "My name is Aponībalagen, who is the son of Pagatipánan and Ebang of Natpangan, who is the brother of Aponībolinayen." "My name is Aponītolau, who is the son of Pagbokásan and Langa-an, who is the brother of Aponīgawanī, whose son is Dumnau." "My name is Dumanau, who is the son of Aponītolau and Aponībolinayen of Kadalayapan." "My name is Aponīgawanī of Kaodanan, who is the wife of Aponībalagen, who has no sister." "My name is Aponībolinayen of Kadalayapan, who is the wife of Aponītolau, whose son is Dumanau." "My name is Wanwanyen-Aponībolinayen, who is the daughter of an *alan* of Matawatawen."

When they had told their names the quid of Wanwanyen-Aponībolinayen went to the quid of Aponībalagen and Aponīgawanī and Dumanau laid down his quid. The quid of Dumanau went to those of Aponībolinayen and Aponītolau. "Now, Aponītolau, we know Wanwanyen-Aponībolinayen is our daughter; it is best for you now to pay the marriage price, nine times full the *balaua*," said Aponīgawanī and Aponībalagen. Aponībolinayen, the mother of Dumanau, begged the pardon of Dumanau and his wife, for she did not know that his wife was the daughter of Aponīgawanī and Aponībalagen, who was her brother. Not long after they gave the marriage price. "I use my power so that the *balaua* of Wanwanyen and Dumanau is nine times filled," said Aponībolinayen, and it was nine times filled with different kinds of jars. Then Aponīgawanī raised her eyebrows and half disappeared, and Aponībolinayen used magic again and the *balaua* was full again. When they gave all the marriage price they danced. As soon as the dance was over they went to eat, all the people whom they invited.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 41, note 2.

When they finished eating Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen talked. "You, father and mother, you were not careful of your daughter. I would not have heard any bad words if you had been careful." "Ala, Wanwanyen-Aponibolinayen, that is our custom, because we are related to the Kaboníyan and the *alan* always picks up some of us," said her father and mother. "It is good that Dumanau found you, who is your husband. Aponibolinayen, who talked bad before, is our relative. She is my sister," said Aponibalagen. "It is true that I said bad words to her, because I did not know that we were related, though I am your relative; forgive me, daughter, your father is my brother," said Aponibolinayen to Wanwanyen. Not long after they drank *basi*, for they knew each other and made friends. As soon as they drank they danced during one month. When the *balana* was finished all of the people went home and took some of the jars. As soon as they went home the father and mother-in-law of Dumanau took all the other jars to Kaodanan. It is said.

(Told by Madomar of Riang barrio Patok.)

## 20

"We are going away, Cousin Dagoláyan," said Kanag. "If that is what you say we must go." Not long after they went. As soon as they reached the middle of the way they agreed upon their destination. "Where are we going?" they asked. "We are going to the place Ginayod of Binglayan," said Kanag. "Why are we going there?" said his cousin Dagoláyan. "We are going because Ginayod of Binglayan has a pretty girl who never goes outdoors, and we are going to see her," said Kanag.

Not long after they arrived where the young girls spun at night. "Stay here, Cousin Dagoláyan, and I will meet you here. I am going to see the daughter of Ginayod, who is Asimbáyan of Ilang." "If that is what you say it is all right," said Dagoláyan. Not long after Kanag reached the place where the girl was, and he talked with her. The girl who never goes outdoors said to him, "If you will get the perfume of Baliwán I will believe all you say." "If you will agree to my mission I will go and get whatever you want," said Kanag. "Ala, if you do not believe me, you take my arm beads from my left arm, for you are kind to go for me." So she gave him her arm beads, and Kanag started to go at once. As soon as he arrived at the place where the young girls spun and had joined his companion, his cousin asked, "What did she say?" "She told me that if I will secure the perfume of Baliwán she will do everything I ask of her. Let us both go." "No, I do not wish

to go with you, for you will not go with me where I wish to go." "Please come with me and another time I will go with you," said Kanag.

Not long after they went and they met the *doldoli*<sup>1</sup> in the way. "Where are you going, rich young men?" it said to them. "Where are you going,' you say, and we are going to get the perfume of Baliwán, for though we are far from it still we can smell it now." "Ala, young men, you cannot go there, for when anyone goes there, only his name goes back to his town." But the boys replied, "We are going anyway. That is the reason we are already far from home, and it is the thing the pretty girl wants." "If you say that you are going anyway, you will repent when you reach there." "It is the thing which will make the girls love us." So they left the jar and walked on. When they reached the middle of the jungle they met a big frog, and it said, "Where are you going, young men?" "'Where are we going,' you say, and we are going to get the perfume of Baliwán, for that is what Asimbáyan of Ilang desires." "No, do not go there, for everyone who has gone there has died." "We will go on anyway, for we are already far from our town and we cannot return without the perfume." So they left the frog and walked on. Not long after they approached the place where the perfume was, and while they were still a long way off they could smell its odor. "What a fine odor it has. That is why the young girl who never goes outdoors desires it so much." They walked on and in a short time they reached the place below the perfume. When they were there Dagoláyan said to Kanag, "Take some from the lower branches." "No, it is better for me to climb and get some from the top, for I think they are better above than below." So Kanag climbed and as soon as he broke off the stem which held the perfume his legs became like part of a snake. Dagoláyan looked up and he saw that the legs of his companion had changed to part of a snake. He said, "Now, my Cousin Kanag, I am going to leave you, for you are no longer a man, but you are a serpent." "Do not leave me even if I do become a serpent. I will not injure you. Do not be afraid." In a short time all his body had become a real serpent, and Dagoláyan ran and went home, and the big serpent followed him.

Not long after Dagoláyan arrived in Kadalayapan, and Aponitolau and Aponibolinayan asked where Kanag was. "Kanag has become a big serpent. As soon as he broke off the perfume of Baliwán which the young girl desired he became a serpent." Aponitolau and Aponibolinayan went around the town and told the people that they must accompany them, for they were going to see if Kanag had really

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<sup>1</sup> A jar.

become a serpent. When Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen had killed many animals and given much food to the searchers and they did not find him, they stopped searching.

Not long after Kanag thought he would go to the river where the people took their baths. So he went. Not long after Langa-ayan was anxious to wash her hair, so she went to the river and washed it, and Do-ansowan washed his hair first and Langa-ayan helped him, for he was her husband. As soon as she had washed his hair, he said to her, "I am going to the town." So he went and left Langa-ayan alone by the river washing her hair. When she had washed her hair she washed her arm beads. While she was washing her upper arm beads she heard a great commotion in the river, and soon after a big serpent appeared on the other bank. Langa-ayan saw that it was a big serpent and she was so frightened that she started to run, but the serpent said to her, "Do not run, my aunt, I am not a real serpent, for I was a young boy before." So Langa-ayan stopped and asked him why he had become a great serpent. "Because I went to Ilang to see the pretty girl, and she told me that if I could get the perfume of Baliwán she would do whatever I asked, so I went. I did not want to go, for I was not sure that she told the truth, but she gave me her left bracelet, so I went. When I was still far away from Baliwán I could smell the perfume, and when I reached the tree I climbed it and I tried to break the stem which held the perfume, and my companion saw that I was changing to a serpent and he ran away. I truly became a serpent and now I have come here and have met you. If you do not believe that I was truly a boy, I will show you the arm beads." So he lifted his head and Langa-ayan truly saw the arm beads around his neck. "My aunt, will you find out how I may become a man again?" She said, "If what you have said is true you follow me." So they went up to the town.

Do-ansowan said to his wife, "How long you have staid at the river, my wife." "I was there a long time, for I met a big serpent. If you wish to see it, it is in the yard. He says he was a young boy and he showed me the arm beads of a young girl, which he has about his neck. I believe that he is a young boy who has become a serpent. When he broke the stem of the perfume which the girl wanted he became a serpent. He wants to know how he can again become a boy." "Ala, if that is what he wants, you go and take him to my Uncle Ma-obagan." So they went and when they arrived where Ma-obagan lived she said, "Good morning, uncle." "Good morning," he answered. "The reason I came is because a young boy who became a big snake is here. Will you please put him in your magic well which changes everything which goes in it and make him a young boy again?" "If he will go into

the water, even if it feels bad; you call him and let him go in." So they went and when they arrived at the well the serpent went into the water, and the serpent's skin began to crack and fall off and he became a boy again.

Not long after they went back to the house of Langa-ayan. As soon as they arrived there the boy went to the *balaua* and did not follow Langa-ayan to the house. Do-ansowan saw that he was a handsome young boy. As soon as Langa-ayan had finished cooking they called him to come and eat and he said to them, "I do not wish to eat if there are no girls to eat with me." "We are afraid if you do not eat, for you did not eat for a long time, while you were a serpent." The boy said, "Even though I did not eat while I was a serpent I will follow my custom, for I do not eat unless a pretty young girl who never goes outdoors eats with me." When they could not persuade him Do-ansowan said to his wife, "Go and call our daughter Amau." Not long after she went to call her. When she arrived where they had put her she said, "Come and eat with the rich young man." "How can I go? I do not know how to walk." "Take the big gold basket and hold on to it while you walk." Not long after she arrived where the food was, and Langa-ayan and Do-ansowan said to the boy who was still in the *balaua*, "Come and eat now, nephew, with our daughter who never goes outdoors." So the boy went quickly, and when he reached the place where the girl was, they ate. When they had finished eating he said that he was sick, but he was not. So they went to fix a place for him to lie and he said, "Perhaps I am sick because of the spirit of the young girl." So they went to call their daughter, for Kanag wanted her to touch him, and he wanted to see her. The girl went to touch his body and he was all right, for he wished her to touch him, and he said, "Now, my uncle and aunt, if you wish me for a son-in-law I wish to marry Amau. I will not go any further to find a wife." The father and mother of the girl agreed to what Kanag said, for the girl wanted to marry him, so they were married.

"Now, Kanag, we are going to make *Sayang* and invite your mother and father so that they can see that you are a young man again," said his father-in-law and mother-in-law. They made *Sayang* and they sent someone to invite their relatives, and someone went to Asimbáyan of Ilang and told her that Kanag Kabagbagowan, who lived in Kalasigan, and his wife Amau were making *Sayang*. Some of the betel-nuts which they sent arrived in Kadalayapan where Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen lived and they said, "Good morning," to Aponitolau who was lying down in the *balaua*. He felt badly because Kanag was a serpent and he said to the betel-nut, "Good morning." Come to Kalas-

kigan, for Kanag and Amau are making *Sayang* and they want you to come." So Aponitolau got up quickly and told Aponibolinayen who was lying down in the house that Kanag and his wife were making *Sayang*, and they were happy because Kanag was a boy again. They told all the people to prepare to go to the *Sayang* of Kanag and his wife. So they went, and when they arrived they saw that Kanag was handsomer than before, and Asimbáyan went also, for they had invited her. Asimbáyan saw that Kanag was the boy who had taken her bracelet and had gone to get the perfume for her, and while she was watching him Kanag went to talk with her. He told her what had happened when he went to get the perfume for her, and he told her how he had become a snake and his mother-in-law had met him by the river and had taken him to the old man who changed him again to a boy, and he had married the daughter of Do-ansowan and Langa-ayan. Kanag said, "Now, I cannot marry you, so I will give back your bracelet." So he gave it back.

Not long after Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen asked how much they must pay for the wife of Kanag, and Langa-ayan and Do-ansowan said, "Fill our *balaua* nine times with valuable things." When they had paid all, they said, "Now we are going to take them to Kadalayapan, for we have paid all you asked." "No, do not take them. They are going to stay here," said Do-ansowan and Langa-ayan. "They will come there bye and bye." "Ala, if that is what you say they must come and visit us, even if they stay here." Not long after Kanag and his wife went to Kadalayapan to visit his father and they staid there three months. Then Do-ansowan and his wife were anxious for them to return. When Kanag and his wife returned to Kalaskigan they said, "Why did you stay so long? We thought you were going to live in Kadalayapan and we intended to follow you." "We staid a long time, for my father and mother would not let us return when we wished," said Kanag.

(Told by Angtan of Lagangilang.)

## 21

"Go to watch our *langpadan*,<sup>1</sup> Kanag, because the wild pigs spoil it." Kanag went. When he arrived at the field he went around it and it was not injured, so he went to the little watch house and he was sorrowful, and he always hung his head. Not long after Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "Cook some rice and meat for I am going to our field and carry the food to Kanag." So Aponibolinayen went to cook. As soon as she finished cooking they ate first. As soon as they finished eating

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<sup>1</sup> Mountain rice.

Aponitolau took the rice and meat and started for the field where their son was. When Aponitolau appeared Kanag took his *lipi* nuts and he played, and the mountain rice which he went to watch was not injured. As soon as Aponitolau arrived to the place where he was playing, "Come to eat, Kanag," and Kanag said, "I am not hungry yet. Put the food in the house. I will play awhile first." When Aponitolau could not make him eat he put the provisions in the house, and he went home and left the boy. Kanag did not go and eat. The next morning Aponitolau went to take him food again and as soon as Kanag saw him he took his game and went to play. When Aponitolau arrived he called him to go and eat, but he did not go for he wished to play, and he asked his father to put the rice and meat in the house. Aponitolau was surprised, because he did not eat, and the provisions for the first day were still untouched. He asked, "Why do you not like to eat?" and he said, "I am not hungry yet." When Aponitolau could not make him eat he went home again, and Kanag used magic and he became a *labeg*.<sup>1</sup>

Aponitolau said to Aponibolinayen, "I wonder why Kanag does not like to eat." "I think he is sorrowful, because he was sent to watch the mountain rice." "What is the reason that you sent him to the field when the fences are strong and no wild pigs can get in," said Aponibolinayen. "You must cook and we will eat, and then I will go and get him." Aponibolinayen went to cook. As soon as she finished cooking they ate and after that Aponitolau took some rice and meat for Kanag to eat. Aponibolinayen said to him, "As soon as he finishes eating bring him home. Do not let him stay there alone. That is why he does not wish to eat." Aponitolau said, "Yes," and so he went. When he arrived at the field he could not see Kanag any more. He called to him, and the little boy answered him from the top of the bamboo tree. His father felt very sorry that he had become a little bird. "Why did you become a little bird, Kanag? Come and eat. I will not send you here any more." Kanag said, "I do not wish to eat and I would rather be a bird and carry the signs to everyone." So his father went back home and he was sorrowful. As soon as Aponitolau arrived in Kadalayapan he said to Aponibolinayen, "Kanag has become a bird. Perhaps he felt sorry because we sent him to watch the rice. He said that when I am going to war he will fly over me, and he will give me the good and bad signs."<sup>2</sup>

Not long after Aponitolau started out to fight. He took his spear, headaxe and shield, and he went. When he was near the gate of the

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<sup>1</sup> The omen bird.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 19, note 1.



town, Kanag gave the bad sign. "Go back, father, for you have a bad sign," said the little bird. So his father went back at once. The next morning he started again and he went. When he reached the gate of the town the little bird gave him a good sign, so he went. The little bird flew near to him and he always gave the good sign. Aponitolau was happy for he knew that nothing would injure him.

Not long after they arrived at the *alzado*<sup>1</sup> town, and the *alzados* were glad when they saw Aponitolau and they said to him, "You are the only man who ever came to our town. Now you cannot return home. We inherit you," said the bravest of them. "Ala, if you say that I cannot go back home, you summon all the people in your town, for we are going to fight," said Aponitolau, and the *alzado* said to him, "You are very brave if you wish to fight with all of us." So the bravest summoned all the people to prepare, for Aponitolau wished to fight all of them. The people were surprised that one man wished to fight with them, and they said to Aponitolau, "One of my fingers will fight with you. Don't say that you will fight with all of us." Aponitolau replied, "Do whatever you wish. I still want to fight you." The *alzados* were angry. The bravest of them ran toward Aponitolau, and he threw his spear and headaxe and Aponitolau jumped. The *alzados* were surprised, for he jumped very high, and they all began to throw their spears at him, and they ran and tried to cut his head off. Aponitolau jumped and he secured all their spears and headaxes, and he said to them, "Am I the next now?" "Yes, because we are now unarmed."

Aponitolau used magic so that when he threw his spear it would fly among them until they were all dead. When he threw his spear it flew to all the *alzados* and killed all of them; so Aponitolau again used magic, and his headaxe cut off the heads of the *alzados*, and Aponitolau sat by the gate of the town. The little bird flew by him and said, "The good sign which I gave to you, father, was all right and you have killed all the enemies." Aponitolau said, "Yes." As soon as the headaxe had cut off all the heads from the dead *alzados*, he used his power again so that all of the heads went to Kadalayapan. The heads went first and he followed them, and the little bird always followed him.

As soon as they arrived at the gate of the town the little bird flew away and Aponitolau used magic so that the heads were stuck around the town. As soon as the heads were placed around the town, Aponitolau commanded all the people in his town to go and invite the people who lived in different places to come and attend his big party. He told them to invite all the pretty girls who never go outdoors. So the people

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

went all over the world to invite the people to attend the party. As soon as the people arrived in Kadalayapan they played the *gansas* and danced and Aponitolau said to Kanag, "Come down, Kanag. Do not stay always in the tops of trees. Come and see the pretty girls and see if you want to marry one of them. Come and get the golden cup and put *basi* in it, and make them drink." The little bird said, "I prefer to stay in the trees and make the signs when anyone goes to fight." When Aponitolau could not make him become a boy and come down he felt very sorry.

When the party was over all the people whom they invited went home and Kanag said to his father, "Now that your party is over and the people have gone, I will go down and get the fruit of the trees to eat."<sup>1</sup> Aponibolinayen said to him, "My dear little son, do not go down and eat the fruit of the trees; we have all we need here. Forgive your father and me, we will not send you again to the field." Kanag did not pay attention and he started to go down. So Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau commanded the spirit helpers. "Go and follow Kanag wherever he goes, so that he has companions; do not leave him. Find a pretty girl for him so that he will not go down." Not long after they overtook Kanag in the forest and they all sat down and they said to him, "Wait here for us a minute, Kanag, while we find a toy for you." "No, I do not wish a toy; I am going down and eat the fruit of the trees." "No, please wait for us. It is very near; we will be back soon. If you do not care for any, you will see. Wherever you go we shall accompany you." Kanag answered to them, "Yes," and they went. As soon as they arrived at the well they used their power so that all the pretty girls who never go outdoors felt very hot, so that they all came to the well to bathe.

Not long after the pretty girls went to the well in the early morning, and their parents did not know about it. As soon as the pretty girl arrived at the well the helpers saw the girl who appeared like the flame of fire about the betel-nut blossoms. As soon as they saw her washing her hair, they went back in a hurry where Kanag was waiting. "Kanag, come and hurry and see the pretty girl." Kanag said, "I do not wish to see her. I am going down to eat the fruit of the trees," and they said again, "Please come; it is very near. If you do not like her we will go wherever you wish." So Kanag went with them, and when they arrived he flew to the top of the betel-nut tree, and he saw the pretty girl, and he flew to another betel-nut tree above her. "What can I do, if I be-

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<sup>1</sup> The storyteller here paused to explain that Kadalayapan was somewhere in the air, and that Kanag was going down to the earth for fruit. See p. 7.

come a man now? I have no clothes and headband." The helpers said, "Do not worry about that. Your father and mother told us to give you whatever you wish, and we have everything here." So Kanag went down and took the clothes and headband and he became a man. He went and sat on the girl's skirt and she said, "Do not harm me. If you are going to cut me, do it only in one place so there will not be so much to heal." "If I was an enemy I would have killed you at once." Kanag went to her and handed the skirt to her. Not long after he gave her betel-nut and they chewed. As soon as they chewed they saw that it was good for them to marry, for they both had magical power and Kanag told his name first and said, "My name is Kanag Kabagbagowan, who is the son of Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen of Kadalayapan, who did not like him, and they sent him to watch their mountain rice, and he became a bird which is a *labEg*." "My name is Dapilisan, who is the daughter of Bangan and Dalonagan of Kabnō-angan." After that the girl was in a hurry to go home, for she was afraid her father and mother would see her, for they did not know that she had gone to the well. She did not want Kanag to go with her to the town, but he did not want to leave her, and the sun shone in the east. The girl went home and Kanag followed her.

Not long after they approached the town and Bangan was in the yard of their house, and Dalonagan was looking out of the door. Not long after she saw them. "What is the matter with Dapilisan? A boy is with her as she returns from the well," said Dalonagan. Bangan was surprised and he did not believe it, for their daughter never went outdoors. "If you do not believe it, look at them; they are coming here," she said. So Bangan turned and saw them. As soon as they arrived where Bangan sat, "Good morning, uncle," said Kanag. "Do not be surprised because I am with your daughter, for I am to be married to her. My father and mother sent me to our rice field and left me there alone, and I was sorry that they did not like me, so I became a bird which gives the sign to those who go to war. When my father went to fight I went with him, and he killed all the *alzados* in one town and he invited all the people in the world to his party to see if any of the young girls pleased me, but I do not think they came here. I did not like to go to the pretty girls who attended the party, so I started to go down to eat the fruit of the trees, but they sent their spirit helpers to follow and take care of me. When I was in the wood the helpers met me and said 'Wait for us here while we go to find you a toy,' and I scarcely waited, but finally waited, and they made all the pretty girls go to the well, for they felt hot, so your daughter Dapilisan went to take a bath. When the helpers saw her they came to tell me and I did not wish to go, but they

compelled me. As soon as I saw her I thought it was good for me to marry her, so I became a man and came home with her. If you wish me for a son-in-law I will be very happy." Bangan and Dalonágan said to him, "I wondered why my daughter went to the well. I did not believe that Dapilísan was there, and I am afraid that your father and mother will not like our daughter Dapilísan, for they did not send an engagement present to us." Kanag said to him, "This is why I came here, and they sent their spirit helpers with me to find a pretty girl to marry, so I will not go down. They will be glad when they know that I am here and want to marry your daughter." So Bangan and his wife sent someone to call Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen, and to tell them that Kanag was in Kabnō-angan. Before the messenger arrived in Kadalayapan Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen knew that Kanag was in Kabnō-angan, for the spirit helpers went to them when Kanag went with the girl to the town. Aponibolinayen and Aponitolau were ready to go to Kabnō-angan before the messenger arrived in Kadalayapan. They went there directly, and they took many things to be used in the wedding.

As soon as they arrived in Kabnō-angan they were glad to see that Kanag was a man again. Bangan and his wife asked if they liked Dapilísan as a daughter-in-law, and they replied, "It is all right for Kanag to marry Dapilísan. We are glad he found her and did not go down, and remain always a bird." So they agreed on the marriage price, and Bangan and his wife said, "The *balaua* nine times full of different kinds of jars." As soon as the *balaua* was filled nine times Dalonágan raised her eyebrows and half of the jars vanished, and Aponibolinayen used her power and the *balaua* was filled again, so it was full truly and Dalonágan said to Aponibolinayen, "The web of the spider will be put around the town and you put golden beads on it, and if it does not break Kanag can marry Dapilísan." When Aponibolinayen had put the golden beads on the web, Dalonágan said again, "I am going to hang on the thread and if I do not break it the sign is good and Kanag and his wife will not separate." When she hung on the thread and it did not break they allowed Kanag to marry Dapilísan. After that they played on the *gansas* and they danced. When they had danced all the guests took some jars before they went home. As soon as the people went home, Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen took Kanag and his wife to Kadalayapan. This is all.

(Told by Magwati of Lagangilang.)

## 22

"I am going to take a bath," said Līgī, so he went. "I am going to take a bath," said Gamayawán also. As soon as she arrived in the

river she went to bathe and Līgī took a bath further down the stream, and he put his *balangat*<sup>1</sup> on the bank, and it flew and alighted on the skirt of Gamayawán. Not long after Gamayawán went in a hurry to seize it. "Here is my toy," she said, and she put on her skirt, and Līgī was sorrowful, and he went home.

As soon as Līgī arrived by his house he went at once to the *balaua* and laid down in it and his mother saw him from the window. "What are you so downcast for? Why do you lie on your stomach?" said his mother. "Why are you downcast for, you say, my mother; my *balangat* is lost," he said. "Do not grieve; it will appear bye and bye," said his mother.

When Gamayawán arrived in her town of Magsiliwan: "You *alan* who live with me, look at my toy which I found by the river," she said, and was very happy, and the *alan* truly looked at it and it was the *balangat* of Līgī, and they all laughed. "What are you laughing for?" said Gamayawán to them? "We laugh because we are happy, because it is beautiful," said the *alan*. Not long after Gamayawán had a baby. Not long after she gave birth. "What are we going to do? I am about to give birth to a child," she said. "The best thing for us to do is for us to get a thorn and stick your little finger." So they truly stuck her finger, and the little baby popped out like popped corn.<sup>2</sup> "What are we going to name it?" they said. "The best name is Galinginayen, for it is the name of the ancestor of the people who live in Kadalayapan," said the *alan*. Gamayawán gave him a bath and he grew about one span, for she used her magic. Not long after the baby was large, for she always used her magic when she bathed him.<sup>3</sup> Not long after the baby could fly.

"What can I do for this baby? I cannot work so well," said Gamayawán. "The best thing for you to do, so you can do much work, is for you to carry him to Kadalayapan and give him to his father," said the *alan*. "That is good, I think; we will go and take him to Kadalayapan tomorrow." When it became early morning she truly prepared cakes to use as food for the boy on the way. When it became day they started. As soon as they arrived at the spring of Kadalayapan she used her power so that all the people in the town and all who were dipping water at the well went to sleep; so all the people who were pounding rice and working slept truly. Not long after they went up to the town. When they were approaching the *balaua* of Līgī they saw him there

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<sup>1</sup> A band of leaves worn about the head.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 18, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 30, note 3.

asleep. As soon as they reached the *balana* they put the boy beside the man who was sleeping. "Stay here and wait, do not fall down," they said to him. "Yes, mother," said the boy. They advised him not to tell who was his mother or where he came from, and they went home. As soon as they reached the edge of the town, she used her power again and all the people who were asleep woke up.

Līgī was surprised when he saw the boy beside him when he woke up. "Why here is a boy by me, with my *balangat* which I lost when I went to take a bath," said Līgī, and he asked where the boy came from and the name of his mother and how he came. "Who are you talking to," said his mother Langa-an. "'Who are you talking to,' you say mother, here is a boy with my *balangat*," said Līgī. Langa-an was in a hurry and she went down from the house and she went down two rounds of the ladder at one step. As soon as she got down she took the boy to their house, where she was cooking and they asked him many questions. "My mother is an *alan*," said Galinginayen. "What is your name then?" "My name is Galinginayen who is the son of an *alan* of Kabinbinlan,"<sup>1</sup> said the boy. "No you are not the son of an *alan*," they said. When Langa-an finished cooking they tried to feed him, but he would not eat. "If you eat my cake I will eat with you," said the boy. So they ate truly of the boy's provisions and he ate also with them.

When it became afternoon Gamayawán went to get the boy. As soon as she arrived at the edge of the town of Kadalayapan she used her power again and all the people who were working and dipping water slept. She went to the town and Līgī slept again, and she took the boy. As soon as she reached the edge of the town she used her power again and all the people who slept woke up. As soon as Līgī woke up he saw that the boy was not by him. "What has happened to the boy? Perhaps his mother came to steal him while I was sleeping," said Līgī. Langa-an was surprised and sorry because the boy was gone.

As soon as the boy and his mother arrived in their house, he asked his mother how many blankets she had woven while he was in Kadalayapan. "Ala, tomorrow you send me again to Kadalayapan." "Yes," said Gamayawán. When it became early morning she made cakes for his provisions. When it became day they took the boy to Kadalayapan. When they approached the town Gamayawán used her power again so that all the people, even though they were working, slept again, and so they slept truly; then they went to the town and they left the boy beside Līgī who was sleeping in the *balana*. As soon as they were

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<sup>1</sup> A place of great trees, many herbs, and continued dampness.

far away from the town Gamayawán used her magic, and all the people who slept awoke. As soon as Ligi woke up he saw the boy by him again, and they at once hid him.

When it became afternoon Gamayawán and her companions went to Kadalayapan to get the boy and as soon as they arrived she used magic again so that all the people slept, then they went up to the town. They looked for the boy, but they could not find him, and they were troubled. They went back home crying. As soon as Ligi woke up he went outdoors.

Five days later Ligi told his mother he thought they should build *balaua*. "We are going to make *Sayang*, mother, for we want to find the mother of this boy." Langa-an said, "Yes." Not long after they made *balaua* and when it became afternoon they made *Libon*<sup>1</sup> and they commanded someone to go and get the betel-nuts which were covered with gold, so that they might send them to invite all the people in the world. As soon as the people whom they sent arrived they oiled the betel-nuts, and sent them to all parts of the world to invite all the people.

Not long after the betel-nut which went to the town of Gamayawán arrived, "Good afternoon, lady. I cannot tarry, I came to invite you, for Ligi and his mother and father of Kadalayapan make *Sayang*," said the betel-nut. "I cannot come for there is no one to watch the house," said Gamayawán. "If you do not wish to come I will grow on your knee," said the betel-nut. "Grow on my big pig, for I cannot go," she said, so it went on to her big pig and the pig squealed very much. "You get off and come on my knee," said Gamayawán to the betel-nut, for she was sorry for her pig. So the betel-nut went on her knee, and it grew high so that it hurt her. "Ala, you betel-nut, I am going now to take a bath, and then I will come." So the betel-nut got off and she went to take a bath. When she arrived at the river she was in no hurry, for she did not wish to go, and the people from Pindayan, who were Iwaginan and his wife Gimbagonan, and the other people passed by the place where she was bathing, when they were going to attend the *Sayang* in Kadalayapan. They saw the pretty lady taking her bath by the river. "Ala, you Gimbagonan, give me some betel-nut so that I can give that lady a chew," said Iwaginan. "No, do not lose any time, we are in a hurry," said Gimbagonan. He compelled her to give it to him, so he went to give the lady the betel-nut and Gimbagonan was angry. As soon as Iwaginan reached the lady and offered her the betel-nut to chew she refused it, but he compelled her to chew it with him. As soon

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 13.

as he gave the betel-nut to her he urged her to go with them to attend the *Sayang*. The lady did not want to go, but he urged her very long, until she went with them. She said, "Wait for me here while I go to change my clothes, if you want me to accompany you, but it is shameful for me to go, for they did not invite me." She went slowly to their house and when Iwaginan and the others waited a long time for her Gimbagonan was angry with Iwaginan and said bad words to him.

Not long after an Agta<sup>1</sup> woman passed by them at the river. "Ay, Agta, did you not see the lady for whom we are waiting?" said Iwaginan. "No, I did not see her," said the Agta. If you did not see her you come with us and we will go to attend *Sayang*," said Iwaginan to her. "I am ashamed to go, for I have no clothes," said the Agta. "No, if I wish it, do not be ashamed," said Iwaginan. Not long after they went. As soon as they arrived in Kadalayapan the Agta went to sit down behind a rice winnower, and Galinginayen was carried by his father and he took him past all the people and he noticed none of them, and when they were in front of the Agta he wanted to go to her, but the Agta winked at him and he did not go to her though he recognized her as his mother. Not long after the Agta became drunk, for they gave her much *basi* to drink. While she was drunk Iwaginan called Ligi. "Now, cousin Ligi, my companion the Agta is drunk and she has laid down on the ground. I want you to take her into the house and give her a mat."

Ligi took her into the house and he held her by the little finger for he did not want to touch her. As soon as they were in the house he put her by the door and he put some old clothes over her, and the boy said, when he saw his mother, "How bad my father is, for he gave my mother the old blankets which the dogs lie on." As soon as his father was among the people the boy changed the blankets on his mother, and he sucked milk from her breasts. As soon as he had sucked the milk from her breasts he went to play by the window, and the guests went below him, for they feared that he would fall. When they were there all the time Ligi went to the house. Not long after he arrived in the house he saw the breasts of the Agta twinkle like stars, and Ligi took the sharp knife and cut the skin off from the Agta. As soon as he had cut off all of the black skin, he threw it out of the window. He lifted her up and put her on a good mat, and all the people who went to attend *balaua* went to where the skin had fallen, for they thought it was the child who had fallen, and they saw it was the skin of the Agta. They were surprised.

Not long after Iwaginan was anxious to go home. "Ala, now,

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<sup>1</sup> Negrito. It was Gamayawán disguised.



cousin Līgī, I want to go home, for we have been here so long a time, do not detain us. Go and get my Agta companion so that we can go home." "I don't know where your Agta companion is now, for I did not see where she went." Iwaginan was sorry and he went to look for her. Not long after he saw her on the mat. "She is on the mat, my cousin Iwaginan, but I do not like to let her go with you, for she is the cause of my making *Sayang*, for I wanted to find out who was the mother of the boy. Now she is his mother. The best thing for you to do is to marry Aponibolinayen and I am going to marry this woman," said Līgī.

Not long after Iwaginan went back home. As soon as they arrived in Pindayan he divorced Gimbagonan, and he went to marry Aponibolinayen. So truly he married Gamayawán. As soon as the *pakálon* was over, he paid the marriage price. Next evening Iwaginan and Aponibolinayen lived together. Next morning they went to wash their hair. "Wait for me here for I am going to dive in the river," said Iwaginan. So he dived, and he went to the place where the *alan* lived under the water and the *alan* said, "Eb we have something to eat for breakfast, it is a man." "No, do not eat me, I came to change my clothes," said Iwaginan. "Is Aponibolinayen here?" they said. "No," he said, and the *alan* covered each hair of his head with golden beads, and they gave clothes to him. After that when he went back home, they went to guide him. As soon as they arrived by the river they saw Aponibolinayen. "How cunning you are, Iwaginan! You told us she was not here, and she is here," said the *alan*. "If we had known that Aponibolinayen was by the river we would have eaten you, for we wanted to take her," they said. "No," said Iwaginan, and they went home. A day later he took Aponibolinayen to Pindayan and Gimbagonan prepared the *baladon* poison, because she wanted to kill Iwaginan. As soon as he and Aponibolinayen arrived in Pindayan, Gimbagonan went to their house, and she took betel-nuts. As soon as she reached the house she gave the nut to Aponibolinayen, and it had *baladon* poison on it. She gave also to Iwaginan, but it had no poison on it. As soon as they chewed the betel-nut Aponibolinayen died. Not long after Iwaginan sharpened his headaxe and spear, for he intended to cut off Gimbagonan's head. They went to get a medium<sup>1</sup> to make the ceremony for Aponibolinayen, and when the medium was making the ceremony she said, "Aponibolinayen cannot be cured unless Gimbagonan comes to cure her, for she used the poison which is *baladon*." Not long after they went to get Gimbagonan and Iwaginan was anxious

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 23.

to get her head, but she asked his pardon and she went to cure Aponibolinayen. As soon as she made Aponibolinayen drink of her medicine, she was at once alive again. Not long after Gimbagonan went back to her house, and when she went back Iwaginan said to her, "Do not do that." "You are not good, Iwaginan. I do not know why you divorced me," she said.

## 23

"Tikgī, tikgī, Līgī, if you want us to cut rice for you, we will come to work with you," said the *tikgī* birds, "Because we like to cut your rice *amasī*, which is mixed with *alomáskī* in the place of Domayási." Līgī said to them, "What are you going to do? I do not think you can cut rice, for you are birds and only know how to fly, you *tikgī*." But they still asked until he let them cut his rice. "Ala, Līgī, even if we are *tikgī* we know how to cut rice." "If you want to come and cut, you must come again, because the rice is not yet ripe. When you think it is ripe, you come," he said. "If that is what you say Līgī that we shall come when the rice is ripe, we will go home and come again," said the *tikgī*. Not long after they went home.

As soon as the birds went Līgī fell sick; he wanted always to see them, and he had a headache, so he went home to Kadalayapan. The *tikgī* used magic so that Līgī's rice was ripe in a few days.

Five days later, Līgī went back to his rice field and the *tikgī* went also, and they arrived at the same time. "Tikgī, tikgī, Līgī, Ala, now we have come to cut your rice *amasī* which is mixed with *alomáskī* in the place of Domayási," said the *tikgī*. "Come, *tikgī*, if you know how to cut rice," said Līgī. Not long after the *tikgī* went. "We use magic so that you cut the rice. You rice cutters, you cut alone the rice. And you tying bands, you tie alone the rice which the rice cutters cut," said the *tikgī*. So the rice cutters and bands worked alone and Līgī went home when he had shown them where to cut rice. He advised the *tikgī* to cut rice until afternoon, and they said, "Yes, Līgī, when it is afternoon you truly come back." "Yes," said Līgī.

When it became afternoon Līgī went. As soon as he arrived at the field the rice which they had cut was gathered — five hundred bundles. "Now, Līgī, come and see the rice which we have cut, for we want to go back home," said the *tikgī*. Līgī was surprised. "What did you do, you *tikgī*? You have nearly finished cutting my rice *alomáskī* in the place of Domayási," he said. "'What did you do', you say, and we cut it with our rice cutters." "Now you *tikgī*, I am ashamed to separate the payment for each of you. You take all you want," said Līgī, so the *tikgī* took truly one head of rice for each one. "Now, Līgī, we have

taken all we can carry," said the *tikgī*. "All right if that is all you want, help yourself," said Līgī, "and you come again." After that the *tikgī* flew and took with them one head of rice each.

After the *tikgī* left Līgī had the headache again, so he did not put the rice in the carabao sled, but went home in a hurry. As soon as he arrived in his house Līgī used his power so that it again became morning. As soon as it became day the *tikgī* went and Līgī went also and they arrived at the same time. "Tikgī, tikgī, Līgī, can we cut your rice which is *amasī* mixed with *alomāskī* in the place of Domayāsī?" "Are you here now, *tikgī*?" said Līgī. "Go and cut the rice and see if you can cut it very soon, and after that I will make *Sayang*, and you must come *tikgī*," said Līgī. "Yes, we are going to cut and you do not need to stay here. You can go home if you wish," said the *tikgī*. So Līgī went home.

As soon as he arrived in his house he went to make a rice granary. When it became afternoon they had finished cutting the rice and Līgī went to the fields to see them. As soon as he arrived there, "We have finished all the rice, Līgī," they said. "Come and give us the payment and then you can go home and see the rice granary where you put the rice, and all the rice bundles will arrive there directly, for you cannot carry them home." "I cannot take them home, for I always have a headache when you go. Since you came I began to have headaches," said Līgī. "Why do you blame us, Līgī?" "Because since you came I have had headaches." After that Līgī went home to see the rice granary.

As soon as Līgī left them they used magic so that all the rice went to the granary of Līgī in his town. As soon as Līgī arrived at the drying enclosure he saw the rice which the *tikgī* had sent and he was surprised. "I wonder how those *tikgī* sent all the rice? I think they are not real *tikgī*," said Līgī. As soon as the *tikgī* sent all the rice to the town they went home, and Līgī went to his house.

Not long after he built *balaua* and made *Sayang*, and he invited all the *tikgī*. As soon as the people whom Līgī invited arrived the *tikgī* came also and they flew over the people and they made them drink *basi*. Not long after they became drunk. "Now Līgī we must go home, because it is not good for us to stay for we cannot sit among the people whom you have invited, for we are *tikgī* and always fly." Not long after they went home and Līgī followed them. He left the people in the party and he watched where they went, and they went to the *bana-āsī* tree and Līgī went to them and he saw them take off their feathers and put them in the rice granary and Līgī said to them, "Is that what you become, a girl; sometimes you are *tikgī* who come to cut

rice for me. Now that you are not *tikgī* I would like to marry you." "It is true that I am the *tikgī* who came to cut rice, because you would not have found me if I had not done it." He married the woman who had power so that she became several birds,<sup>1</sup> and he took her home.

When they arrived in Kadalayapan the people whom *Līgī* had invited were still there and were dancing. The father and mother of *Līgī* were surprised and so they chewed bete-nut so as to find out who the lady was. The quid of Ebang and Pagatipánan and the quid of Aponibolinayen (the *tikgī*) went together. The quid of Langa-an and Pagbokásan went to the quid of *Līgī* and thus they knew who Aponibolinayen was. Ebang and Pagatipánan were surprised that she was their daughter, and they called her Aponibolinayen, and they called *Līgī* Aponitolau. As soon as they found out who she was, *Līgī* gave the payment to the relatives of Aponibolinayen. As soon as he made the payment, they played the *gansas* and danced for three months. As soon as the *balaua* was over all the people went home and Aponibolinayen's father asked her where she had been. She said she had been in the *banu-ásī* tree where Kabonīyan<sup>2</sup> had put her, and they were surprised for they did not know when Kabonīyan had taken her from them. After that they used magic and the house where Aponibolinayen had lived went to Kadalayapan. This is all.

(Told by Madomar of Riang barrio of Patok.)

## 24

There was a man named Wadagan, and his wife was Dolimáman. They were sitting together in the middle of the day, and Dolimáman commanded Wadagan to stick with a thorn the place between her fourth and little finger. So Wadagan stuck her finger with the thorn and as soon as he did so a little baby popped out. "What name shall we give to this boy?" said Wadagan. "You ask what name we shall give him, we are going to call him Kanag Kabagbagowan," she replied. "Give him a bath every day." "I use my power so that every time I give him a bath he will grow."<sup>3</sup> She always said this when she bathed him and every time the baby grew. Not long after she said, "I use my power so that when I bathe him again he will be so big he will ask for his clout, belt, and top." As soon as she said this and bathed him the boy became big and asked for his clout, belt and top. Not long after he dressed up and took his top and went to play with the other boys.

Not long after Dolimáman said to Wadagan, "Take care of the boy

<sup>1</sup> See p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A powerful spirit.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 30, note 3.

while I go to the well," and Wadagan said, "Yes." As soon as Dolimáman arrived at the well Wadagan made a little raft and Kanag went to the place where he was working and asked, "What is that for father?" "What is that for," you say. I am going to make it for your toy." Not long after he said, "My son go and change your clothes and as soon as you change your clothes I will see you." When Kanag went to change his clothes his father was watching for him. He said, "My dear son, now we will follow your mother to the well." So they went, but they did not go to the place where Dolimáman was. They went to the east of Dolimáman, and Wadagan said, "Ala, Kanag, go on the raft which I have just made, and I will drag it up stream with a rope." Kanag did not want to, but his father lifted him and put him on the new raft. As soon as he put him on the raft he pushed it out into the current and then he went back home.

When he reached the yard Wadagan went into the *balaua* and laid down, and when Dolimáman returned she inquired for Kanag and she said, "Where is Kanag? Why can I not see him here?" Wadagan said, "I do not know. I think he is playing with the other boys in the east." Not long after Dolimáman went to ask Agtanang and Gamayawan, and she said to them, "Did you see our son Kanag?" "No, we did not see him," they replied. Not long after, while she was inquiring, they told her the truth, and they said, "He went to the well with his father and they carried a little raft which had just been made." Not long after Dolimáman went to the west of the well and she saw the marks of the raft in the sand by the river and she sat there for a long time and Agtanang and Gamayawan shaded her while she sat there by the river.

Not long after the old woman Alokotán went to the well for she felt hot. As she was taking a bath she saw the little raft which was just made and said, "You new little raft, if the son of Wadagan and Dolimáman is inside of you, come here." So the little raft went to her where she was making a pool in which the dead or sick were put to restore them. As soon as she finished the pool she took him to her house and Kanag asked for something to eat. The old woman Alokotán said, "Go and eat, it is already prepared." So Kanag went and ate and he said, "Mother, give me that nose flute so I can play." So she gave it to him and he played. "Agdaliyan, you are feeling so happy while your mother is feeling unhappy, and is going to die by the river side," said the flute as he played. So he stopped playing and he said, "What is the matter with this flute? It sounds bad. I am going to break you into pieces." Not long after he asked the old woman Alokotán for the *bunkaka*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A sort of tuning fork made of bamboo.

and she gave it to him. When he received it he played, and the *bunkaka* said the same as the flute. "What is the matter with this *bunkaka* that it talks bad? I am going to break you." He put it down again and said to Alokotán, "Mother, I am going to play with the other boys." "No, do not go," said the old woman, but he went nevertheless to play with the boys.

Not long after he reached the *balaua*, and he met a little boy playing with *lipi* nuts, and they played together. "Will you come with me to the place where my mother is while I ask for my tobacco?" said Dago-láyan. "If that is what you say we will go," said Kanag. So they went to the place where Dolimáman was and the milk from her breasts went to Kanag's mouth. "Here is my son now," said Dolimáman who was lying down and she sat up. "What is the matter of this woman, she called me her son and she is not my mother," said Kanag. "Where is your mother then?" said Dolimáman. "My mother is in Nagbotobotán and her name is Alokotán," said the boy. "Ala, let us go. Where is Nagbotobotán? Guide me," said Dolimáman. As soon as they arrived, she said, "Good morning, my Aunt." "Good morning also," said Alokotán. "My son is with you," said Dolimáman. "Yes, your son is with me, because I met him by the river near the well." "How much must I pay you, my Aunt, because you found him and he has staid with you," said Dolimáman to the old woman. "I do not wish anything, for my reason for taking him was so that I might have someone to inherit my possessions, because I have no child." "That is not my mother," said Kanag to Alokotán, and she replied, "Yes, that is your mother, but your father put you on the river when you were a little boy, and I found you there and I took you, so I might have someone to inherit my things." Not long after, "Ala, my Aunt, now we are not going home we will stay here, because my husband Wadagan does not like us." So they used magic so that their house in Kadalayapan went to Nagbotobotán, and the people were surprised at the noise made by the house when it went to Nagbotobotán. They saw that it was a big house all made of gold, and they placed it near to the house of Alokotán. Not long after Wadagan made *balaua*, because he could not find his family in their golden house.

Wadagan got out of the *balaua* and said, "I am going to take a walk and see if I can meet Dolimáman and our house which is made of gold." Not long after he went to walk, and he did not meet any of them. "I am going to go to Nagbotobotán and see if the new raft went there." So Wadagan went and not long after, while he was walking, he reached the edge of the town of Nagbotobotán, and he saw the golden house, and he went to it directly, and he said, "Perhaps that was our house, for

there was no other to compare with it." When he arrived in the yard he said, "Good morning." "Good morning also," said the old woman Alokotán. "How are you, my Aunt?" She said, "We are well." And he asked her if she had seen the little raft pass by and she said, "Yes, it passed by here and I took it." So they made him go upstairs and when he got up there he saw Dolimáman and Kanag, and Kanag did not know his father. "You call me father, for you are my son," said Wadagan to him. "No, you are not my father," said Kanag. "If you do not wish to call me so, then I will go home, and we will leave you here. Let us go Dolimáman. If Kanag does not like me it is all right," said Wadagan. "I don't like you, for you sent me away," said Kanag. "Go back home, we are going to stay here," said Dolimáman. So Wadagan went back home and he went everywhere and Dolimáman, Kanag and Dagoláyan staid in Nagbotobotán.

(Told by Madomar of Riang.)

## 25

There was a man Awig and Aponibolinayen, and there was a girl named Linongan. "Ala, you make Linongan start for she goes to watch the mountain rice. You cook for her so that she goes to watch and I go to guide her," said Awig. "Why do you dislike our daughter Linongan? Do not make her go to watch for she is a girl. If she were a boy it would be all right. You know that a girl is in danger. That is why you must not put her to watch the field." "No you give her cooked rice and cooked meat and make her start, for I am ready to go now," said Awig.

Not long after they went to the place where the mountain rice grew, and he went to station her in the high watch house. He commanded her to climb, and when she was in the middle of the ladder she was afraid, for she nearly fell down, it was so high. Not long after she reached the watch house. When she looked down it seemed as if her eyes fell down it was so high. "Ala, you my daughter Linongan live here and watch our rice, I will come to see you. Do not show yourself if anyone comes," said Awig to her and he went home to Natpangan. "Ala, you are so happy now, Awig, for you cannot see our daughter Linongan," said his wife Aponibolinayen, and Awig laid down in the *balaua* and Aponibolinayen laid down in the room.

As soon as Awig left Linongan in the field, the tattooed *alzados* went to the watch house, and Linongan laid down for she was afraid of them. When the tattooed *alzados* looked up toward the watch house it seemed as if the moon shone, "Ala, we will go up and see what that is." They went up, and when they arrived in the place where the girl was they were surprised at her beauty. "We will not kill her," said the young

men to the bravest of them. "Yes," said the bravest, "get away so I can see her, if she is very beautiful." When the young men got away he cut her in two at her waist. They took her body and her head and went home. "Why did you kill her," said the young men. "So that you do not get a bad omen, young men," said the bravest of them.

Not long after they had killed Linongan, "Why does my breast flutter so, Awig?" said Aponibolinayen. "I feel sad also," said Awig. "Ala, Aponibolinayen you cook food for me to take when I go and see our daughter," said Awig. Aponibolinayen truly went to cook for him. When Aponibolinayen finished cooking, "Ala, give me my dark colored clout and my belt which has pretty colors, so that I go at once to the place where the tattooed *alzados* are. Perhaps they found our daughter. Look often at the *lawed* which I shall plant by the stove. If it wilts so that its leaves are drooped, you can say Awig is dead."<sup>1</sup>

When Aponibolinayen thought he had arrived at the field she looked at the *lawed* and it was green and flourishing. Not long after Awig saw the blood below the watch house. "Perhaps this is the blood of my daughter. I am going to see if they have killed her." He climbed up, and when he got up, the body and head were not there, so he went down. As soon as he got down he sat and he bent his head, "What can I do? Where am I going to go to find my daughter?" he said. Not long after he took a walk. When he reached the jungle he looked at the big high tree. ["We can see all over the world from the high trees." This was a side remark by the story-teller.] The best thing is for me to climb so that I watch and see where the *alzados* live, where my daughter is," he said, and so he climbed. As soon as he climbed up he saw all over the world. He looked to the west, there were no people there who celebrated. "There is no one there," he said. He looked toward the north. There were none there who celebrated. "There is no one there," he said. He turned his face to the east, there was no one there. When he looked in the south he saw the *alzados* who were making a celebration; and they danced with the head of his daughter. "Perhaps that is my daughter," he said. "How terrible if it is my daughter," and his tears dropped. Not long after he went down. As soon as he got down, "If I follow the path I will spend much time. The best way is for me to go through the woods, to make the way short. I will go where they are," he said, and he went.

When he had almost reached the place where the *alzados* were dancing he said, "What can I do to get the head of my daughter?" and he bent his head. Not long after he remembered to go and get the juice

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 96, note 3.



of the poison tree. As soon as he secured it he split some bamboo for his torch, as he went to the celebration of the *alzados*. As soon as he arrived there he said, "Good evening." "Good evening," they answered. He laid down the torch by the fire of the *alzados*, who thought him a companion. "Where did you come from? It has taken you so long to arrive we thought that you were dead. We did not meet you, but we found one lady who never goes out of the house, who is very beautiful, that is why we celebrate." "I took long because I was in the middle of the wood, for I wanted to get a head. I was ashamed to go back home without a head, but I did not meet anyone, so I did not secure one, for I had a bad sign. That is why I did not reach the town where I wanted to go and fight," he said. "Ala, make him sit down," said the bravest. "Yes," said *alzados* and they made him sit, and they danced again. "Ala, you give him a coconut shell filled with *basi*, then he must dance, when he finishes to drink," said the bravest again. Awig stood up. "Ala, I ask that if it is possible I take the coconut shell, for I am the one who must give the people to drink, and when I have made all drink, then I will dance. I will make *kanyau*<sup>1</sup> so that next time I may be successful," he said. "Ala, you give the golden cup to him, and let him serve us drink. As soon as he will make us drink we will make him dance." "Yes," they said. Not long after he took the cup and he used his power so that though he drank the *basi* the poison which he put in the big jar would not kill him, and he drank first. As soon as he drank he made the bravest drink. Not long after he made all of them drink, and the *alzados* all died, for he used magic so that when they had all drunk then they all died. He put a basket on his back, and he went to put the head of his daughter in the basket. He took the head into the middle of the circle, and he took all the valuable things which the *alzados* had put on her. As soon as he got all the things he went home.

When he was in the middle of the field he turned back his face and saw four young *alzados* who followed him through the cogon grass, and he used magic so that the flame of the fire was so hot that the *alzados* who followed could not reach him.<sup>2</sup> When the flame of the fire was over he turned his face again when he reached the middle of the next field. He used his magic again so that the flame was so high there that the *alzados*, who always followed, could not reach him. As soon as the flame was gone they followed again, and Awig shouted. The *alzados* were frightened and were afraid to follow him for they were then near to

<sup>1</sup> The word is probably used in the Igorot sense as "celebration." In the Tingnan dialects *kanyau* means "taboo."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 17, note 1.

Kaodanan. "Ala, we will go back or the people of Kaodanan will inherit our heads," and they went back home. Those were all who were left for Awig did not give them poison.

Not long after Awig arrived in Natpangan. He went back to get the rest of his daughter's body from the place where the mountain rice grew. When he arrived in their house he joined the body and the head. They looked at her and she was sweating. "Ala, Awig you go and command someone to get the old woman Alokotán. When she speaks to the cut on our daughter's body the body and head will join better," said Aponibolinayen to Awig. Not long after, "Ala, you spirit helpers go to get old woman Alokotán of Nagbotobotán, so she will speak to the cut on Linongan," said Awig. "Yes," said the spirits and they went. Not long after they arrived at Nagbotobotán, "Good morning," they said, "What are you coming for you spirits," said old woman Alokotán. "What are you coming for you say?' Awig sent us to call you and take you to Natpangan, for you to speak to the cut on their daughter, for the *alzados* killed her when they sent her to watch the mountain rice." "That is why those people are bad, for when they have only one daughter they do not know how to take care of her." "Ala, what can you do, that is their custom. Please come," said the spirits. "Ala, you go first, and I follow. I ought not come for I want them to feel sorrowful for their only daughter, which they sent to the field, but I will come for I want Linongan to live. You go and I will follow," she said. "Yes," they said.

When the spirits arrived in Kaodanan the old woman Alokotán arrived also. As soon as she arrived she went at once where Linongan was lying. "Ala, you Aponibolinayen and Awig this is your pay, for although you have only one daughter you sent her to the mountain field," said the old woman Alokotán to them. Awig and Aponibolinayen did not answer for they were ashamed. When the old woman had finished to talk to them she put saliva around the cut on Linongan and caused it to join. When she finished joining it, "I use my power so that when I snap my perfume<sup>1</sup> which is called *dagimonau* ("to wake up") she will wake up at once." When she snapped her perfume Linongan woke up at once. "I use my power so that when I use my perfume *alikadadak* (sound of walking or moving) she will at once make a movement." When she snapped her perfume Linongan moved at once. "I use my power so when I snap my perfume *banawes* she will blow out her breath! When she snapped her perfume, she at once breathed a long breath. "Wes how terrible my sleep was," said

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note 1.

Linongan. "'How terrible my sleep' you say. The tattooed *alzados* nearly inherited you. I went to follow you because they took you to their town and they danced with your head," said Awig.

Not long after Awig went to take four small branches of the tree and he used magic, "I use my power so that when the four sticks will stand they will become a *balaua*." He used his power and truly the four sticks became a *balaua*, and Aponibolinayen commanded someone to pound rice. Ten days later they made *Libon*, on the tenth night. When it became morning Awig commanded someone to go and get the betel-nut which is covered with gold. As soon as they arrived they oiled the betel-nuts. "Ala, all you betel-nuts, you go to invite the people from the other towns who are relatives so that they will come to make *balaua* with us. You go to all the towns where our relatives live and invite them, and if they do not wish to come you grow on their knees." So the betel-nuts went.

Not long after the people whom they invited came to the place where they made *balaua* and they all danced. The companion of Ilwisan of Dagápan in dancing was Alama-an. When Ilwisan stamped his feet the earth rumbled. When he looked up at Alama-an he said, "How terrible is the love of the ladies toward me; she thinks that I love her," but he wished to dance with Linongan. When they finished dancing, Asigtanan and Dondonyán of Bagtalan danced next. When Dondonyán shook his foot the world smiled and it rained softly. When they finished dancing, Iwaginan and Linongan, who never goes outdoors, danced. When Iwaginan stamped his feet, all the coconuts in the trees fell, and when Linongan moved her toes in dancing all the tattooed fish came to breathe at her feet for the water covered the town when they danced. When they were still dancing the water flowed, only a little while, and it was only knee deep, "Ala, you Iwaginan and Linongan, stop dancing because we are deluged," said Awig and the old woman Alokotán. They stopped dancing and the water went down again from the town. "How terrible are the people who are like Kaboniyán for they are so different from us," said the other people who went to attend *balaua* with them.

Not long after, when all the people had finished dancing and the *balaua* was over, the people went home and Iwaginan was engaged to Linongan. Aponibolinayen said, "We do not wish that our daughter be married yet," but Awig agreed. "Why do you agree, Awig, do you not like our only daughter?" said Aponibolinayen. "I like her, but it is better for her to be married. He seems to have power. Don't you know that a girl has many dangers? It is better for her to be married, because she is the only daughter we have," said Awig. Not long after

they made *pakálon*. "Ala, now, sister-in-law, how much will we pay?" said Dinowágan to Aponibolinayen. "The *balaua* three times full of jewels," said Aponibolinayen. "Ala, yes, sister-in-law," she replied. So she used her magic and the *balaua* was three times full of jewels, and Aponibolinayen raised her eyebrows and half of the things in the *balaua* disappeared, and Dinowágan used her power again and filled the *balaua*. "Ala, stop that is enough to pay for our daughter," said Aponibolinayen. "I pay now." "Yes," they said. "Now that we have made the payment we will go home," said Dinowágan. If you do not let us take Linongan to Pindayan, Iwaginan will live here and I will come to visit them," said Dinowágan to Awig and Aponibolinayen. As soon as Dinowágan and her companions went home. "Ala, my wife we go to Pindayan to see our mother Dinowagan," said Iwaginan. "Yes, if that is what you say we will go," said Linongan. Not long after they asked Awig and Aponibolinayen, "You go, but do not stay long," they said. "Yes," they answered.

When they arrived in Pindayan, Iwaginan and Linongan went to bathe in the river, and Iwaginan saw the place where the *alzados* had cut Linongan in her side, and he went to make a magical well in which a person can bathe and lose all scars and wounds; and it looked as if she had no cut and she was prettier, and they went home. When they arrived in the house Dinowágan was surprised, for she was more beautiful than before. "I made the magic pool and cured the cut in her side which I saw," he said. Not long after when they had been two days in Pindayan, they went to Natpangan.

## 26

Dumanágan sent his mother Langa-an to Kaodanan. When she arrived there she said, "Good morning Ebang," and Ebang replied, "Good morning, cousin Langa-an. Why are you coming here?" "I came to visit you." So they made her go upstairs and they talked. Not long after they all became drunk and the old woman asked if Aponibalagen had a sister, and they told her that he had one. Soon they agreed on the day for the *pakálon*.

When the day agreed on came, Aponibalagen put Aponibolinayen inside of his belt<sup>1</sup> so they went to Kadalayapan. As soon as they arrived at the gate of the town of Kadalayapan, Sinogyaman carried cake and rice to the gate of the town, to take away a bad sign if one had been seen while on the way. They did not like her so she went back to the town and they sent Kindi-ingan, and they did not like her

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 63.

either. As soon as Kindi-ingan returned they sent Aponigawani. When she arrived at the gate of the town they were very glad and Dumanagan thought that Aponibalagen had used his power so that the sweets, made of rice, were not in the basket until Aponigawani went to meet them at the gate of the town.

Not long after they went up to the gate of the town and they agreed on the marriage price when Dumanagan should marry Aponibolinayen. They said the price was the *balaua* filled nine times. Not long after when they had paid they all danced. Then the people went back home and Aponibalagen and his people went back home also.

Not long after Aponibolinayen was very anxious to eat *biw* fruit of Tagapolo. So Dumanagan went to get it for her. He arrived where the *biw* was and he got some, and in a short time he returned to Kadalayapan and he gave the fruit to his wife to eat. As soon as she ate it she became well again. After seven months she gave birth and they called the boy Asbinan. As soon as the boy became large he went to play with the girls.

As soon as Asigowan of Nagwatowatan noticed the braveness of Asbinan she made *balaua*, and she commanded the people to pound rice. Not long after she commanded the betel-nuts to go and invite their relatives. The betel-nuts went to all the towns in the world and invited all the people. The next day they oiled the *gansas* and the people played them and all the people who heard them danced for they liked the sound of them very much. So Asbinan went to attend the *balaua*. All the people arrived at the place by the spring and a big storm came and wet all of them. Not long after the people who lived in the same town as Asigowan, which was the town of Nagwatowatan, went to meet them at the spring, to give them dry clothes. They changed their clothes and went up to the town. As soon as they all danced Asbinan saw Asigowan and he wanted to marry her. So he gave her betel-nut to chew and they told their names, and when they had told their names their quids showed that it was good for them to marry. The father and mother of Asigowan were Gagelagatan and Dinowagan, but she lived with the *alan*. Her father and mother did not know her until she made *balaua* and Asbinan did not know her until the *balaua*, then he married her at once.

As soon as he married her all his concubines used their magic power so that while he was living with Asigowan she would cut her finger. Not long after she truly cut her finger and died. They put her in the *tabalang*<sup>1</sup> which had a rooster on top of it. Then all the concubines of

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 24, note 1.

Asbinan were glad. Not long after they sent the *tabalang* along the stream and the rooster on top of it crowed, and the old woman Alokotán went to see it. She stopped the *tabalang* and took out the body of the dead person. Not long after she made her alive again. As soon as she made her alive again she put her in a well and she became a beautiful girl. Not long after she became a bird and she flew back to the place where Asbinan lived. The bird flew above him, and he tried to catch it. When he could not catch her, she went to the top of a tree, and Asbinan went into his house and he was sorrowful, because his wife was dead. Soon he fell asleep and the bird went near to him and Asbinan awoke and caught it. The bird became a girl again, the same as before, and Asbinan saw that it was his wife, so he was very happy and they made a big party. They invited all their relatives. Not long after all the people arrived and they all danced. The old woman Alokotán was there and Asigōwan told Asbinan that she was the woman who gave her life again, so they treated her very good and the old woman Alokotán gave them all her property, and all the people who went to attend the party were very glad.

(Told by Masnal of Abang.)

27<sup>1</sup>

"When I was a young fellow I went to all parts of the world, to every town where the tattooed Igorot live, who were all enemies.

"Mother Dinowágan put the rice in the pot which looks like the rooster's egg,<sup>2</sup> so that I eat rice, for I go to fight the tattooed Igorots," said Ībagō wa Agimlang who was four months old. "Do not go my son Agimlang your feet are too young and your hands look like needles they are so small. You just came from my womb." "Oh, mother, Dinowágan, do not detain me for it will make me heavy for fighting," said Agimlang. As soon as he finished eating, "Mother Dinowágan and father Dagilagatan let me start, and give me the little headaxe and spear and also a shield, for I am going to walk on the mountain Daōlāwan." Not long after he started. As soon as he arrived on top of the mountain Daōlāwan he sat on a stone which looked like a bamboo bench under the Alangigan tree, and there were *alan*<sup>3</sup> there who were young girls. "Oh, why are you here Ībagō wa Agimlang who just came from your mother's womb?" said the *alan*. "'What, are you here?' you say young *alan*, whose toes on your feet are spread out. I

<sup>1</sup> This story does not belong to the cycle proper.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 14.

am going to fight with the tattooed Igorot," said Ībagō wa Agimlang to them, and they talked for nine months, in the place where the stone bench was. The *alan* girls wanted to see him all the time. After that, "You young *alan* girls, I am going to leave you." "Do not go," said the *alan*, because you are a little baby, you just came from the place where your mother gave birth to you." "Do not detain me, young girls, for it is bad for me if you detain me, for I will be too heavy for fighting," said Ībagō wa Agimlang. "If I return from war, I will invite you to attend my big party," he said to them, and so he went.

Not long after he arrived at the town where the tattooed Igorot lived, and they were so many they looked like locusts. He used his power, "You, my headaxe and my spear, go and fight with the tattooed Igorot, and kill all of them." As soon as the tattooed Igorot heard what he said, they said, "Why, do you brave baby come to fight with us for, you are very young? Now you cannot return to your town, for we inherit you," said the bravest of the *alzados*.<sup>1</sup> "If you had said that you intended to kill me I would have killed all of you, even though I am a baby just from my mother's womb," said Agimlang. So the bravest of the *alzados* told his people that they should prepare to fight with the baby, and they began to throw their spears at him, but they could not hit him. As soon as all the spears and headaxes were gone, the baby fought with them, and his spear and headaxes killed all the people who lived in that town. As soon as he killed all of them he used magic so that the heads of the tattooed *alzados* went to Pindayan. Not long after truly all the heads went to Pindayan and he followed them.

When he arrived at the spring of Lisnayan in the town of Ībōwan he rested and he sat on the high stone and began to play the bamboo Jew's harp and Īgōwan saw him. "Adolan come and see this young fellow and hear him play the Jew's harp." The harp said, "Īwaginan Adolan, Inalangan come and see your brother, if he is your true brother." So Adolan went truly to see him and he found that it was a newborn baby who was just beginning to walk. "Where did you come from little baby?" said Adolan. "'Where did you come from?'" you say. I come from fighting the tattooed Igorot." "How does it happen that you went to war, for you are only just from your mother's womb?" "'How does it happen?' you say. I heard my father saying that when he was young he went to all parts of the world in all the towns," said Ībagō wa Agimlang to Adolan.

Not long after he gave him betel-nut and they chewed. As soon as they finished chewing they told their names, and Adolan told his

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<sup>1</sup> The Tinginan always refer to the Igorot as *alzado*.

name first and Ībagō wa Agimlang was next to tell his. After that they laid down their quids and they saw that they were brothers. "Now, my brother, Adolan we will go to Pindayan, for I am going to make a big party, for I just return from fighting," said Ībagō wa Agimlang. "Ala, you go first and I will go to see our brother," said Adolan.

Not long after Ībagō wa Agimlang started to go and he lost his way, and he went through the mountain rice clearing of Kabangoweyan, who was the *Lakay*<sup>1</sup> and he walked through many *lawed* vines which were wide spreading and when anyone cut off a leaf they smiled. As soon as he arrived at the little house of the old man, "Oh, grandfather, tell me the way back home and I will not take your head," said Ībagō wa Agimlang to the old man. "Where are you going?" he said. "I am going home to the town of Pindayan, for I am returning from fighting." "Stop while I cook, and you can eat first, and then you can go," said the old man. "No, I do not wish to eat. Tell me the way back home," said Ībagō wa Agimlang. So he showed him the way to Pindayan, but missed the way and they went through the middle of the reeds, and the place where the *lawed* vines grew, and he met the pretty girl who was his sister, who had been hiding between two leaves. "Now, pretty girl, I have found you among the *lawed* vines, and I am going to take you," said Ībagō wa Agimlang. So he took her and he put her inside of his belt.

Not long after he arrived in Pindayan and he made a big party. Adolan and Iwaginan and Īgōwan went to attend the party. Not long after he took Inalingan out of his belt, she was a pretty girl who looked like the newly opened flower of the betel-nut tree. "Where did you get her?" "Where did you get her?" you say. I met her in the place where there are many *lawed* vines, and when you cut their leaves they smile," said Ībagō wa Agimlang.

"Now, brother, we are going to chew betel-nut, and see if we are truly relations," said Daliwaganan (Ībagō wa Agimlang), and he called Adolan, Īgōwan, and all his brothers and sisters, and his father and mother. He gave them betel-nut to chew, and Dagilagatan and Dinowágan told their names first and Iwaginan was the next, and then Adolan and then Īgōwan, but he said that he was the son of the *alan*, and next was Agimlang and then the pretty girl. She said, "My name is Inaling who is the little girl who never goes out of the *lawed* vines, which when somebody cuts they smile. After they finished chewing the betel-nut and telling their names, they laid down their quids, and the quids Īgōwan and Ginalingan (Inaling) went to the quids of Iwagi-

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<sup>1</sup> Head man.



nan and Adolan. "Oh, my son, Īgōwan and my daughter Ginalingan, I thought that I did not have any more my daughter and son and that the *alan* had taken. We did not feed you rice," said the old woman Dinowágan. "Ala, my son, Agimlang, do not feel sorry, because you heard what your father Dagilagatan said to you, because you met your brothers and sister who are Īgōwan and Ginalingan," said the old woman Dinowágan. After that they danced for about nine months. After that Īgōwan and Adolan and Iwaginan went home and they did not let Ginalingan go back home.

As soon as Īgōwan arrived in his town he built *balaua* and he invited all his relatives who lived in different towns and all the *alan* in the world. Not long after the people whom he invited arrived in the town of Īgōwan, and all the *alan* went to his *Sayang*, and the *alan* were surprised that Dagilagatan and Dinowágan knew that Īgōwan and Ginalingan were their son and daughter, so they asked them. They said that Ībagō wa Agimlang met them when he came from war and he took them to his party so they knew that they were their son and daughter for they chewed betel-nut. As soon as Īgōwan's *Sayang* was over the *alan* gave all their valuable things to him, and also those who had taken Ginalingan. As soon as they had given them all their things the *alan* flew away and Dinowágan and her husband took their sons and daughters to Pindayan.

28<sup>1</sup>

There was a man named Asbinan who was the son of Ayo, but the old woman Alokotán took care of him. "Ala, my grandmother Alokotán, go and engage me to Dawīnisan who looks like the sunshine, for I want to marry her," said the young boy Asbinan. The old woman replied, "I do not think they will like you, for she is a young girl who never goes outdoors."<sup>2</sup> "Ala, grandmother, you go anyway, and if they do not like me I will see what I shall do," said Asbinan who was a handsome young man. Not long after the old woman went. As soon as she arrived at the stairs of the house of the mother and father of Dawīnisan, they said, "Good morning," and the mother of Dawīnisan said, "Good morning, what did you come here for, Ayo and Alokotán of Kadalayapan?" "'What did you come here for?' you say. Our son Asbinan wants to marry Dawīnisan," said Ayo. She called them up into the house and they talked. "We will ask our daughter and hear what she says." When they asked Dawīnisan if she wished to

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<sup>1</sup> This story does not belong to the cycle.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 54, note 2.

marry Asbinan, she said, "Oh, my mother, I am ashamed to marry yet, I do not know how to do anything; so I do not wish to be married now. Do not dislike me, but be patient with me." So her mother said, "Pretty Ayo, I think you heard what she said. Be patient."

Not long after Ayo and Alokotán went back to Kadalayapan. When they arrived there, Asbinan asked them the result of their mission. "Did they wish me to marry their daughter Dawīnisan?" His mother replied, "They said that Dawīnisan does not wish to be married yet; so we came back home." When he knew that they did not wish him for a son-in-law, for they did not give any reason, he thought and he said, "My mother, hand me my golden cup, for I am going away." So his mother gave it to him. As soon as he arrived in the yard of Dawīnisan, he said, "Good morning, Dawīnisan, will you look out of the window at me?" Dawīnisan said to the *alan*, who had spreading toes and who bent double when they walked,<sup>1</sup> "Look out of the window and see who it is." The *alan* said to her, "He wants you to look at him." Dawīnisan said, "I cannot go to the window to look at him, for the sunshine is hot. I do not wish the sun to shine in my face." When Asbinan could not get her to go to the window, he used magic and went inside of the golden cup, and he pretended that he was ill in his stomach. He said, "Ana, mother, I am going to die, for my stomach suffers greatly," and he said to the *alan*, "Ala, you *alan*, tell her that she must look out of the window to see me." The *alan* said to Dawīnisan, "Come and look at him; he wants you to see him. He says that his stomach is ill." But Dawīnisan said to the *alan*, "Tell him that I cannot go and look at him, I am ashamed. You look at him and then you rub his stomach." The *alan* told Asbinan that Dawīnisan would not look at him, and he would not let the *alan* rub his stomach. He said, "If Dawīnisan does not want to look at me from the window, and if I die it is her fault, for I came here because of her."

The *alan* who saw that Asbinan was a beautiful young boy, said, "If you will not go to look at him, we are going to leave you, for we fear that he is going to die because of you." Dawīnisan did not wish the *alan* to leave her, and she said, "Ala, bring him up on the porch and I will see him." The *alan* took him up on the porch, and she went to look at him. When she saw that he was a handsome boy, she said, "I am ashamed, for I did not think he was a rich and handsome boy." When she saw that the boy appeared to be suffering greatly she went into the house; she changed her dress and went out on the porch, and she looked like the sunshine. When she reached the porch, she rubbed

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 14.

the boy's stomach, and directly Asbinan sat up. Dawinisan said to him, "Come into the house and we will tell our names and see if we are relatives." So they went into the house and she told him to set down on a golden seat which looked like a fawn. As soon as he sat down he said, "Pretty, young girl, when I see you I am blinded by your beauty. I came here because I wish to marry you." "Oh, Asbinan! I am ashamed, but I do not want to be married yet," said Dawinisan. "Dawinisan, even if you tell me to leave you, I will not do it until you promise to marry me. I will stay with you now," he said. Dawinisan replied, "Even though you should stay here one month, I do not care," Asbinan said. "Let us chew betel-nut and see if the quids turn to beads with no hole, and lie side by side; or if they lie parallel, then it is not good for us to marry; so we shall see."

Not long after they chewed betel-nut, and when they laid down their quids they were agate beads, and they laid side by side; so they saw it was good for them to marry. "Ala, now it is good for us to marry and we are related." Dawinisan replied, "Ala, go and tell your mother that if they have everything we want and will pay what we want, you can marry me." Asbinan said, "Yes," and he went to his grandmother Alokotán. "Ala, my grandmother Alokotán, what shall we do? Dawinisan said that if we have everything they want and will pay it for her, she will marry me." The old woman said, "Ala, do not worry about that, I will see."

Not long after they started and took Asbinan, and when they arrived at the house of Dawinisan they agreed on the marriage price. Her mother said, "If you can fill our *balaua* nine times with gold shaped like deer, and jars which are *addëban* and *ginlasan*, Asbinan can marry our daughter." Alokotán and the others replied, "Ala, if that is what you say it is all right, and we can pay more." So Alokotán used magic and the *balaua* was filled nine times with the things they wished, and there were more golden deer than jars. The father and mother and relatives of the girl said, "Asbinan and our daughter Dawinisan can be married now." When the *pakálon* was over, Alokotán used magic and she said, "I use my power so that they will not know that they are transferred to Kadalayapan," and all the houses went to Kadalayapan. Not long after the people who went to attend the *pakálon* found that they were in Kadalayapan and they were surprised, and the people from the other towns went home when the *pakálon* was finished.

"I am going to lie down on the stone which is like a seat below the *dumalotau* tree," said Ayo, for she felt hot in the middle of the day.

"What shall we call our son?" "We shall call him Asbinan, who looks like the spreading branch of the betel-nut tree which looks pretty in the afternoon," said Līgī, her husband.

"Ala! Agbēn, my loving son, go to eat," said Ayo. "Mother — pretty Ayo — I do not wish to eat when we have no fish roe." After that Līgī went to his friends who use the big fish net in the ocean. "Ala, my friends, search fish roe, for my son Asbinan wishes to eat." They went to examine the bellies of nine baskets of fish, but there was no roe. He went to his friends who fish in the river. "Ala, friends secure fish roe which my son wishes to eat." Soon after, "How much do I pay?" "You do not pay, for this is the first time you have come to buy," said those friends who fish in the river. "Agbēn, my child, come and eat." "Mother, pretty Ayo, I do not wish to eat the fish roe when there is no *dolang*,<sup>1</sup> and I do not like to drink out of the scraped cocoanut shell when there is no glass which comes from the place of the Chinese, and I do not like to eat from the bamboo dish when there is no dish from Baygan (Vigan)." After that Līgī went and got the cup and the dish from the Chinese store.

"Agbēn, my loving son, come and eat, for everything is here which you wish," said pretty Ayo. When they had finished eating, "Father Līgī give me your love charm<sup>2</sup> which you used when you were young, for I wish to go to the place where the maidens spin at night."

"Good evening, young girls," said Asbinan. "I do not like to light my tobacco unless the fire is taken from the light of your pipes." They were anxious to offer their pipes, but when Tiningbengan stubbed her toe she stopped and Sinobyaman, who was the prettiest, was the one on whom he blew his smoke (a part of the love charm). She vomited and her eyes were filled with tears, and after that they went home, all those who spun together.

"Ala! go and fetch Asbinan, for she (Sinobyaman) turns over and over and sways to and fro since he blew on her last night." They went to get Asbinan who was sleeping, and he stepped on their heels as they walked.

"Ala, aunt, I cannot cure her unless we are married." Then they decided on the day for *pakálon*, and the price was the lower part of the house filled nine times with jars, which are *malayo* and *tadogan*. Then she made the cakes for the parents-in-law, and they carried the pig, and they received the marriage price which was the lower part of the house nine times filled.

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<sup>1</sup> A low box-like table used by the Ilocano.

<sup>2</sup> Certain charms are still used by lovers to aid them in their suits.

## 30

"Ala! my wife Iwánen who loves me every afternoon, make cakes of rice which shall be my provisions when I go to the southern place San Fernando and Baknotan, which is a part of Pangasinan.<sup>1</sup> I am going to investigate the report concerning the beautiful women, who are like the rift in the clouds — the escaping place of the moon —; who are like the bright stems of good betel-nuts."

"Ala! my soldiers who are many, catch my horse which is a pinto, which paces, which walks fast, which goes, which gallops, which has sore sides." "It is here already, the horse which is a pinto, the saddle is already placed."

"Ala! now my wife Iwánen, I am going to leave you here. Keep your honor as a person of wealth. Perhaps some one will entice you and we two will be ashamed before the people of our town."

After that he went and started — Tolagan who went toward the south. He whipped the pinto, he ran, he walked.

When he was in the town of Kaodanan his body was thirsty. "I go to the place of betel-nuts, where I shall drink the water which is white like coconut oil." He arrived at the place of the betel-nuts. He met a maiden who was like the place of a large fire. There was no other such maiden.

"Good morning, maiden who takes water in the shady place of the leaves which grow, which are stripped off in the middle of the place of betel-nuts, which bear fruit which anyone gathers. I come to drink with you the water which looks like oil," said Tolagan. "If you are the old raider cut me only once so that I have less to heal," (she said). "No, I am not the old raider, for I live in Baliwanan and I go to the south to Pangasinan." "Do not continue the journey, for you have a bad sign. The birds skimmed past in front of you, also in the rear and the sides.<sup>2</sup> Go back to Baliwanan." "If that is what you say pretty one, I shall turn back because of this sign."

He arrived at Baliwanan, but his wife was not there, for she had run away with Kaboníyan<sup>3</sup> to the town of the sky.

There was not a place he did not search for her. He went to the head man. "Ala, *presidente* of our town, I come to ask for companions while I search for my wife, who vanished last night." He gave (the searchers), but when they did not find her, he went to another town. He went to the place of Baingan in the town of the north. "Good morning, I came to ask companions to search for her who was absent last night." "If that is still your trouble" said Baingan, "you go and

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<sup>1</sup> Pangasinan is a province midway between Abra and Manila.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 19, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> A spirit.

see my sister, who is Imbangonan, whom you shall take for wife, who cannot belt herself unless there are nine belts. She is in the middle of the place of the betel-nuts."

"Good morning, Imbangonan," said Tolagan. "I came to see you, for your brother told me we are to marry if you like me."

"If you like me, we will chew green betel-nut and see what is your fortune." When they finished chewing, the two quids went into a line. "Ala! we will marry if you agree to pay 100 *gumtang* and 50 *ginalman*."<sup>1</sup>

31

There were two girls who went to take a walk and a rich man met them, and he asked, "Where are you going, you two girls?" "We are going to walk around the town." The rich man said, "Come and walk with me." When they reached their house he gave them some work to do and he treated them just the same as his daughters. The rich man was a king, and he put the girls in a room and the princesses Mary and Bintolada were in the other room. The king and the queen gave dresses to the girls but they did not give them any bracelets and rings.

Not long after the two girls went to the house of the jeweler and they ordered him to make rings and bracelets for them like those the princesses had. As soon as they went in the house of Indayo and Iwaginan in the town of Pindayan, they asked for water to drink. After that Iwaginan and Indayo gave them water to drink, and they thought that the two girls, who were dressed like men, were ladies, so they followed them when they left and they took *basi* for them to drink.

As soon as the princesses arrived in the jeweler's house they commanded him to make rings and bracelets for them. As soon as the jeweler began to make the rings and bracelets for them Iwaginan and Indayo arrived with the *basi*. Soon it became night and they ate and drank in the night and they became drunk, and they all slept in one room. The people saw the beads on their arms and the jeweler awakened them and put them in another room so they did not sleep in the same room with the others and he said, "I thought you were princes, for you dress like princes, but when I saw your beads I woke up, for I think those two men are planning bad for you. Go and sleep in the other room." So they went into the other room to sleep.

Not long after it became daylight and they returned home, and Iwaginan and Indayo did not see them, and they were very sorry for they thought the princes were truly girls. So they went back home, and as soon as they arrived there they said, "We are going to make *balana*, to find out if those princes were truly girls." So they began

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<sup>1</sup> Jars.

to build *balaua*. They sent messengers to go and invite people in every town. Not long after the people whom they invited arrived, and they saw that the princes were not there. So they commanded their spirit aids to go to all the world and find those princes. So the spirits became hawks and they flew about the world. As soon as they came near to the palace of the king they alighted on a tree and they watched the princesses in the windows and hawks said, "*Tingi*." The princesses heard the word "*Tingi*," and they were Ganinawan and Asigtanan. They saw the birds from the window, and the hawks flew by them and the princesses stroked their feathers, because they were pretty.

Soon the hawks seized them in their talons and flew away with them and carried them to Pindayan. Not long after they reached there and Iwaginan and Indayo were very glad, and they made a big party and they invited the king. The king had been searching for them for a long time. Some of the spirit helpers who had gone to the palace said, "Good morning. We came here to invite you, for Iwaginan and Indayo sent us. They are making a big party for those princesses for whom you are searching, for we took them to Pindayan, and Iwaginan and Indayo married them. When the king heard the news he was glad, and he went to the party. Indayo and Iwaginan made him dance when he arrived, and Kanag and Dagoláyen went to that party. Not long after they put those girls, whom Iwaginan and Indayo had stolen, in their belts and they did not know what had become of their wives and they were sorry. Kanag and Dagoláyen took them home. When they arrived home they told their names and they chewed betel-nut and they found that it was good for them to be married, instead of Iwaginan and Indayo. Kanag married Asigtanan and Dagoláyen married Ganinawan. The mother of Ganinawan was Aponibolinayen and the mother of Asigtanan was Aponigawani.

As soon as they were married and they had learned who their mothers were they built *balaua*, and they sent some betel-nuts to invite all of their relatives in other towns. Iwaginan and Indayo went to attend the *balaua*, and they danced. They saw that those girls were their wives and they tried to take them back home, but Kanag and Dagoláyen would not let them. They said it was not good for them to be married even though they wished to be married to them, because the girls would become oil when they went close to them. So Indayo and Iwaginan were very sorry. Ganinawan was the sister of Kanag and Asigtanan was the sister of Dagoláyen. They did not find out that they were related until Indayo and Iwaginan took them, for their mothers had lost them in miscarriages, and the girls became women by themselves, and the king found them.

(Told by Talanak of Manabo.)

## RITUALISTIC AND EXPLANATORY MYTHS

32<sup>1</sup>

The Īpogau<sup>2</sup> are making *Sayang*.<sup>3</sup> “Why do not those Īpogau who are making *Sayang* start the *balaua*<sup>4</sup> correctly?” said the spirits above. Those *anitos*<sup>5</sup> who are married, who are Kadaklan and Agemem,<sup>6</sup> say, “It is better that you carry the pig.” Then truly they carried the pig up the river, those two Īpogau who are married. “Ala! you walk and walk until you arrive at Sayau, for a person who lives there is making *Sayang*,” said the spirits. After that they arrived, those who are married who carried the pig, at the place of the man who made *Sayang*. “Where are you going?” asked the man of Sayau of those who carried the pig. “We came to see how you make *Sayang*, for we have not yet learned how to make *Sayang* correctly,” said those who are married. “Ala! watch what I am doing and imitate.” They watched what he did when he made *Sayang*, and he did everything. He made *balag*, *sagoyab*, *aligang*, they made also *tangpap*, they made *adagang*, *balabago*, and what is needed for *al-lot*.<sup>7</sup> After that, “You go home, and when you make *Sayang* you do as I did,” said the man from Sayau. They went home truly, those Īpogau, and they imitated the man who made *Sayang* in Sayau; then those who are married—Kadaklan and Agemem—caused the spirits to come whom they called, those who made *diam* when they built *balaua*. (Here the medium names the spirits which cause sickness.)

Now you get better, you who build *balaua*.

33<sup>8</sup>

“Those who knew to make *dawak*, went to make *dawak*, but they did not prepare the pig correctly. Not long after Kabonīyan,<sup>9</sup> above, was

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<sup>1</sup> This *diam* is recited by the medium when the spirit house known as *balaua* is built. See also page 12.

<sup>2</sup> Spirit name for Tinguian.

<sup>3</sup> The greatest of Tinguian ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> A large house built for the spirits during the *Sayang* ceremony.

<sup>5</sup> Spirits.

<sup>6</sup> Kadaklan is the most powerful of the spirits. Agemem is his wife.

<sup>7</sup> The names of small buildings or shrines elected for various spirits.

<sup>8</sup> Chanted by the medium while making offerings in the *Dawak* ceremony which is made for the cure of minor illnesses, such as fever, etc.

<sup>9</sup> A powerful spirit.



looking down on those who make *dawak*. Kabonīyan went down to them, he went to tell those preparing the pig, because they did not prepare it correctly — those two who make *dawak*. After that they prepared the pig correctly and the sick person got well of the sickness.

“Ala, when there is again the repetition of the sickness to the person for whom you go to make *dawak*, do not neglect to prepare the pig correctly, so that the sick person may get better, whom you try to make well. I also, Kabonīyan, prepare correctly when there is a person for whom I make *dawak*, and you, Īpogau, do not prepare correctly when you make *dawak*.” After that when there is the person they go to cure who is sick, they always prepare correctly because it was Kabonīyan who told them to do always like that. When some one is ill whom they go to cure, they prepare correctly.

34<sup>1</sup>

The spirit who lives in Dadaya<sup>2</sup> lies in bed; he looks at his *īgam*<sup>3</sup> and they are dull. He looks again, “Why are my *īgam* dull? Ala, let us go to Sudipán where the Tinguian live and let us take our *īgam*, so that some one may make them bright again.” After that they laid them (the *īgam*) on the house of the Īpogau<sup>4</sup> and they are all sick who live in that house. Kabonīyan<sup>5</sup> looked down on them. “Ala, I shall go down to the Īpogau.” He truly went down to them, “What is the matter with you?” “We are all sick who live in the same place,” said those sick ones. “That is true, and the cause of your sickness is that they (the spirits) laid down their *īgam* on you. It is best that you make *Pala-an*, since you have received their *īgam*, for that is the cause of your illness.” After that they made *Pala-an* and they recovered from their sickness, those who lived in the same place. (Here the medium calls the spirits of Dadaya by name and then continues.) “Now those who live in the same place make bright again those *īgam* which you left in their house. Make them well again, if you please.”

35<sup>6</sup>

Those who live in the same town go to raid — to take heads. After they arrive, those who live in the same town, “We go and dance

<sup>1</sup> The *dīam* recited during the *Pala-an* ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> The east.

<sup>3</sup> Feathers attached to a stick, which serve as hair ornaments in the *Sayang* ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Spirit name for Tinguian.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 171, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Chanted by the medium, over the offerings given to aid in the cure of a sick child, or to stop a child from incessant crying.

with the heads," said the people who live in the same town, "because they make a celebration, those who went to kill." "When the sun goes down, you come to join us," said the mother and baby (to her husband who goes to the celebration). After that the sun truly went down; she went truly to join her husband; after that they were not (there), the mother and the baby (i.e., when the father arrived where they had agreed to meet, the mother and child were not there).

He saw their hats lying on the ground. He looked down; the mother and the baby were in (the ground), which ground swallowed them. "Why (are) the mother and the baby in the ground? How can I get them?" When he raises the mother and the baby, they go (back) into the ground. After that Kaboniyān above, looking down (said), "What can you do? The spirits of *Ībal* in *Daēm* are the cause of their trouble. It is better that you go to the home of your parents-in-law, and you go and prepare the things needed in *Ibal*<sup>1</sup>," said Kaboniyān.

They went truly and prepared; after that they brought (the things) to the gate. After that the mother and child came out of the ground. "After this when there is a happening like this, of which you *Īpogau* are in danger, you do like this (i.e., make the *Ibal* ceremony) and I alone, Kaboniyān, am the one you summon," said Kaboniyān.

After that they got well because they came up — the mother and the baby.

### 36<sup>2</sup>

There is a very old woman in the sea who says to her spirits — *Dapeg* (a spirit which kills people) and *Balingenngen* (a spirit which causes bad dreams) and *Benisalsal* (a spirit which throws things and is unpleasant), "Go beyond the sea and spread your sicknesses." The spirits are going. They arrive and begin their work, and if the people do not make *Sangásang* many will die. Now it is morning and the spirits are going to the river to see what the people have offered to the old woman, who is *Ináwen* (mother). If they do not find anything, they will say, "All the people in this town shall die," and then they will go on to another place.

*Ináwen*, who is waiting, sends *Kideng* (a servant) to search for the spirits who are killing people, to tell them to return. *Dapeg* leaves the first town. He goes to another and the dogs bark so that the people cannot sleep. A man opens the door, to learn the cause of the barking, and he sees a man, fat and tall, with nine heads and he carries many kinds of cakes. The man says, "Now take these cakes, and if

<sup>1</sup> The ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> *Diam* recited during the *Sangásang* ceremony in the town of Lumaba.

you do not make *Sangásang* for my mistress, at the river, you shall die. You must find a rooster with long tail and spurs; you must mix its blood with rice and put it in the river at dawn when no one can see you."

The man makes *Sangásang* the next night, and puts the blood mixed with rice in a well dug by the river, so that the spirits may take it to their mistress. Kideng also arrives and says, "You must come with me now, for she awaits you who are bearing this offering." They go and arrive. Their mistress eats and says, "I did not think that the blood of people tasted so badly, now I shall not send you again, for you have already killed many people."

37<sup>1</sup>

"You whom I send, go to the place where our relatives live in Sudipán,"<sup>2</sup> said Maganáwan of Nagbotobotán, "because I desire very much the blood of the rooster mixed with rice." He gave his cane and sack, "When you arrive at the place (of those who live) in Sudipán you wave my cane and the husks of betel-nut which are here in my sack." They truly waved when they arrived: many snakes (were creeping) and many birds (flying) when they waved there by the gate.

"How many snakes and birds now," said the *Ipogau*.<sup>3</sup> "Go! command to make *Sangásang*," said the married ones.

"We shall wait the blood of the rooster mixed with rice, because they remember to command to make *Sangásang*," said those who Maganáwan of Nagbotobotán commanded. They took the blood of the rooster mixed with rice, which was put in the *saloko*<sup>4</sup> in the yard; they arrived to their master. "How slow you are," said Maganáwan. "We are only slow, because there was no one who listened to us where we arrived first," said those whom he commanded; "we went up (the river) until there was one who remembered to command to make *Sangásang*, which is what we now bring to you — the blood of the rooster mixed with rice." They gave; he put in his mouth — the one who commanded them — he spit out. "Like this which is spit out (shall be) the sickness of the *Ipogau* who remember me," said Maganáwan of Nagbotobotán. After that it is as if nothing had happened to the family.

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<sup>1</sup> Chanted when the *Sangásang* ceremony is made for sickness, or to take away a bad omen.

<sup>2</sup> Spirit name for the earth

<sup>3</sup> See p. 172, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 22, note 3.

38<sup>1</sup>

The Īpogau are digging where they make stand the poles of their houses. "You go to give the sign," said the master of the sign to the *siket*.<sup>2</sup> *Siket* went. "Why do we have a bad sign? We remove the poles," said the Īpogau, and they removed that there might be no bad sign. The deer went to call when they were digging where they removed those poles which they made stand. "We remove again the poles," said the Īpogau, and they removed again. When they were digging, where they made to stand those poles which they removed, the wild pig went to grunt. They removed again the poles which make the house.

As before, the snake went to climb the pole with which they made the house, and they removed again. When they were digging again where they made the poles stand with which they made the house, the *labeg*<sup>3</sup> skimmed over, and as they had a bad sign the Īpogau moved again the poles with which they made the house. "Koling," and "Koling" and again "Koling" (the bird cried); they removed again the log which they made stand, with which they made the house. The *salaksák* clucked, who flew where they dug, where they made those poles stand, with which they made the house.

Since they have the bad sign again, they say to the others — those who make the poles stand — "We are very tired always to dig and dig, and to make stand and make stand those poles, we go ahead to make the house," and they placed their lumber and they went — one family of the Īpogau. Then they finished what they built, their house. There was nothing good for them, and there was nothing which was not their sickness (i.e., they had all manner of sickness).

"My wife," said Kaboniyan, "give me the coconut oil, that I oil my spear, for I go to see those Īpogau who are sick." When those Īpogau who were sick were in their house, his spear fell in their house. "What is the matter with you, Īpogau?" said Kaboniyan. "What is the matter with you, you say, and there is nothing which we do not do for our sickness, and we are never cured," said those Īpogau. And Kaboniyan answered, "How can you become cured of your sickness when you have a bad sign for that which you made — your house? The reason of your sickness is because you do not make *Sangásang*." The good way (is) you find a rooster, and that you command the one who knows how to make *diam* of the *Sangásang* to make *Sangásang*.

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<sup>1</sup> Chanted when the ceremony is made to remove a bad sign.

<sup>2</sup> An omen bird.

<sup>3</sup> The true omen bird.

I (am) always the one for whom you make *diam*," said Kaboniyan. And truly, before they had finished making *Sangásang*, it was as if there had been nothing wrong, that family was cured of their sickness.

39<sup>1</sup>

The poles of the Īpogau's house were quarreling. Said the floor supports to the poles who were quarreling, "What can you do if I am not?" "What can you do if I am not?" said the foot-boards to those floor supports who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the cross supports to those floor supports who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the cross supports to those foot-boards who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the floor to those cross supports who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the wall to the floor boards who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the beams to the wall boards who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the *pongo*<sup>2</sup> to the beams who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the *daplat*<sup>3</sup> to the *pongo* who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the end pole to those *daplat* who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not?" said the *salabáwan*<sup>2</sup> to those end poles who are quarreling. "What can you do if I am not—who am *legpet*?" said those *legpet* to those *salabáwan*. "Though you are *legpet*, you can do nothing if I am not," said the *gakot*, "because you fall," said the *gakot* to the *legpet* who are quarreling. "And what can you all do if I am not, who am grass? you all decay if I am not," said the grass (roof) to those who are quarreling. "Therefore we are all the same use to the house of the Īpogau; we will unite our thoughts and breath, so that in the same manner the thoughts of the Īpogau are united, who live in us," said those who are quarreling. And they united their thoughts and breath. After that the Īpogau who were sick were cured, those who lived in the house. It was as if there was nothing bad for that family.

40<sup>4</sup>

The great spirit lives in the sky, and he is carrying the goods of the people. He says to himself, "To whom shall I give these goods which I am carrying? I shall take them to the earth." He looked down on

<sup>1</sup> *Diam* recited during the *Sangásang* ceremony held to remove continued misfortunes.

<sup>2</sup> Several native names which have no exact English equivalents are used here.

<sup>3</sup> Woven bamboo used on ceilings.

<sup>4</sup> This *diam* was chanted during the *Ubaya* ceremony in Villaviciosa, an Igorot town much influenced by Tinguian. The *Ubaya* is also held in Lumaba, a Tinguian settlement.

Bisau, for the people there promised to make *Ubaya*. Soon the people saw a man entering the town and they sent a man to prevent him<sup>1</sup>. He said, "Let me come in, for I bring goods for you. Your food and animals and other things which you need shall be increased." After that he said, "Let all the people in the world know of this so that they will make *Ubaya* for me, and I will aid them also."

## 41

Dayapán was a woman who lived in Ka-alang. For seven years she was sick. She went to the spring to bathe and while she was in the water a spirit sent by Kadaklan<sup>2</sup> entered her body. The spirit held sugar-cane and rice. He said to her, "Take this sugar-cane and rice and plant them in the ground. After you reap the sugar-cane and rice, you will build a bin to hold the rice, and a sugar mill for the cane; after that you will make *Sayang* and that will make you well." Dayapán took those things and went back home. She planted the sugar-cane and rice. When she was planting, the spirit entered her body again and taught her how to plant. When she reaped the sugar-cane and rice, she began to make *Sayang*. The spirit Kaboniyan went again into her to teach her how to make *Sayang*. The spirit said, "Send a man to get *bolo* (bamboo) and weave it into *talapitap*.<sup>3</sup> Take *lono* and *bolo* as big as a finger and make *dakidak*,<sup>3</sup> and put a jar with water upstairs in the house. Dance *daeng*<sup>4</sup> for ten nights. You will pass seven evenings, then you will build *balaua*.<sup>5</sup> Send some persons to get wood and bamboo and rattan and cogon, and take ten baskets with cooked rice to follow the number of nights (i.e., on the first night one basket of cooked rice on the *talapitap*; the second night, two; and so on). When you finish the time you will know how to make *dawak*<sup>4</sup> and to call all the spirits, and you will teach the people how to do *dawak*."

When she finished the *dawak*, the spirit sent her to wash in the river as a sign that she had finished *Sayang*. He told her to get a dog and a cock. She went to the river and she tied the cock and the dog by the water, and while she was gone, the dog killed the cock. Dayapán wept, but for a long time the spirit did not come. When Kaboniyan came again, he said, "If the dog had not killed the cock, no

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<sup>1</sup> No one is allowed to enter the town after the ceremony begins.

<sup>2</sup> The most powerful of all spirits.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 13, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 12.

person would die, but this is a sign and now somebody will die and some will be well.

Dayapán went home and when she arrived there she began to learn to make *dawak*, and she called all people to hear her and she told all she had seen and heard. Then the people believed her very much. When somebody was sick, they called Dayapán to see them and to show them how to make them well. So Dayapán taught them all kinds of *dawak* which the spirit had told her because before when Dayapán was sick, no one knew the *dawak*.<sup>1</sup>

## 42

Many years ago there was a woman whose name was Bagutayka. She had had only one daughter whose name was Bagan. A boy who lived in Lantágan wished to marry Bagan, but she did not wish to marry him because she had no vagina, and she was ashamed. Her mother said, "Take this little pot with pictures on the outside, and this sucker of banana and go to the roadside where people are passing. When people are passing, you will make them sick in their knees or feet." Then poor Bagan went by the roadside. In a short time a man passed by her; after that he was sick in his knees and did not walk, he only lived in his house, and could not move his hands or feet. His parents were troubled to find medicine for him, for none they found did him good. They used all the medicine that they knew. Then Bagan went to see him in his house and told him to make *bawī*.<sup>2</sup> The sick man said to her, "How do we make *bawī*, for we have never heard about that?" Bagan said, "Bring me a white cloth, a basket of rice, some thread, a betel-nut, coconut, a rooster, and *toknang*."<sup>3</sup> They brought all of these, and Bagan took them. Then they built a *bawī* in the garden and planted the sucker by it. They broke the coconut shell, killed the rooster, and took his feathers to put in the coconut husk, and they broke the coconut meat.

They made *sablau* near the *bawī* and put the coconut meat in it. When they had done this, the man who was sick was as good as if he had not been sick, he could walk just as before. This is the way the Tinguian people learned to make *bawī*.

43<sup>4</sup>

In the first times Kabonīyan told a sick man to go to the mango tree at the edge of the village. "Take a feather for your hair, a clay dish

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similiar tale, current among the Dayak, will be found in ROTH, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, p. 309 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A small spirit house built during the *bawī* ceremony.

<sup>3</sup> A kind of grass.

<sup>4</sup> Account concerning the guardian stones at Patok.

with oil, a headaxe, a spear, and a small jar of *basi*, when you go to the tree." He did as he was bidden, and when he reached the tree the *pīnding*<sup>1</sup> were there. "Ala! now kill a small pig and offer its blood mixed with rice. Oil the heads of the stones well, and decorate them with yellow head bands. When you do this Apadel will always guard the town." The man and his companion always did as Kaboniyān said, and when they made *balaua*, or were sick, or went to fight, they did this. They ate of the pig, they played the *gansas* and danced. All who obeyed were always well, but one man who urinated on the stones became crazy.

One day when the people were preparing to go and fight against Manabo,<sup>2</sup> they went to the *pīnding*, and while they danced a red rooster with long tail feathers came out of the stones and walked around them. When they stopped dancing, he went again into the stones. Since that time a white cock has sometimes appeared and once a white dog came out while the people danced.

44<sup>3</sup>

One night a man saw a woman, who wore a black cloth, walking near the *pīnding*. When she would not speak to him, he cut her in the thigh with his *bolo*.<sup>4</sup> She ran to the stones and vanished. Next morning the man went to the guardian stones and found one of them cut in the middle, as it is now. The man soon died of smallpox.

45<sup>5</sup>

In the first times, the old men saw the stones traveling together down the river. Above them flew many blackbirds. Then the people went down to the river and watched the stones on their journey. After that they caught them and put them near to the gate of the town, where they still remain.

## 46

The evil spirit *Ībwa* once had a body like a man and used to visit the people. In those days they kept the body of the dead person seven days, and when the fat ran from the body they caught it and placed it

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<sup>1</sup> Peculiarly shaped stones in which Apdel, the guardian spirit of the village is supposed to reside.

<sup>2</sup> A Tinguian town several miles south of Patok.

<sup>3</sup> Told by the people of Lumaba, to account for a peculiar knifelike cut in one of the guardian stones outside the village.

<sup>4</sup> Large knife.

<sup>5</sup> Account of the securing of the guardian stones at Lagayan, Abra.



in the grave.<sup>1</sup> One day when he visited a funeral, a man gave Ībwa some of this fat to drink. Since that time he has always been bad and always tries to eat the body of the dead and steals his clothes. He comes to the funeral with another evil spirit Akóp, who has a large head, long slim arms and legs, but no body.

Kaboniyan has told us how to keep the evil spirits away, but if we fail to do as he said, they always make trouble.

## 47

A man died. He had a wife and married son. They buried him under the house and made *bagongon*.<sup>2</sup> After that his wife was in the field and was watching their corn. His daughter-in-law was in the house watching her baby. While she was swinging the baby, the dead man said, "Take this *saloyot*<sup>3</sup> to Gadgadawan." The girl took it. The spirit said to her, "Let me swing the baby and you cook the *saloyot* in Gadgadawan." When she cooked it, the spirit ate it, and he asked, "Where is your mother-in-law?" She said, "She is in the field watching the corn." The spirit went there. When he reached there, his wife was afraid of him, but she did not run. He slept there that night with his wife, and he did what he wished with her that night. In the daytime he went away. His wife got big stomach, but had no baby, and died. The spirit did that because the fire for the dead man was not out yet and she had gone from the town before the *kanyau*<sup>4</sup> was past.

## 48

One man in Solay<sup>5</sup> said to another, "Tomorrow we meet on the mountain to get wild carabao." The other man agreed, and early the next morning the first man set out on horseback. The second man died that night, but the first man did not know this. When he got to the place agreed, he said "Sh-sh" through his teeth, and the spirit of the dead answered a little way off. The man went towards the answer and signalled again. The spirit again answered, and then the man saw the spirit of the dead, which was very big, was running to catch him.

<sup>1</sup> Compare with account of LA GIRONNIERE, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, pp. 120 ff; also with COLE, *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1908, pp. 210-11.

<sup>2</sup> A ceremony held while the body is still in the house.

<sup>3</sup> A grass which is eaten.

<sup>4</sup> Taboo. A fire is kept burning at the grave and at the foot of the house ladder for ten nights following the burial. During this time the members of the family and near relatives must remain close to home.

<sup>5</sup> A barrio of Patok.

He ran his horse at full speed, but the spirit was gaining when the *lasta*<sup>1</sup> on the saddle caught on a dead limb and was jerked away. "Very good that you leave that or I would take your life," said the spirit. Then the man ran his horse until he got to Solay. When he got there, he could not get off his horse, for his legs were stuck very tight to each side of the horse, so a man had to pull each leg loose and lift him from the saddle. That is why we know that the spirits of the dead men sometimes do harm and go places.

## 49

A man and his wife were living in the field where they planted corn and rice. When they were there, the man died. The woman did not want to go to the town, because there was no one to watch the dead man. She could not bury him. The *Ībwa*<sup>2</sup> noticed that there was a dead man in the house. He sent one of his sons to get the dead man. When the *Ībwa* came in the house, the woman took the headaxes and cut him in the doorway. The *Ībwa* went under the house. His father could not wait for him; he sent his second son and his third son. The boys could not take the body, because they were afraid of the headaxes, for the woman had one in each hand. The *Ībwa* went there. He said to his sons, "Why do you not take the dead man?" His sons said, "We could not take him, because if we go up in the house the woman takes the two headaxes and tries to kill us." *Ībwa* went up into the house; he broke the door of the house. He said to the woman, "Now I am your husband." The *Ībwa* took the two ears of the dead man; he ate one and gave the other to the woman to chew, like betelnut, to see the sign. The sign of the saliva was good. He made the woman's two breasts into one in the center of her chest. He took her to his house.

## 50

The stems of the *alangtin* are good charms against the spirits of the dead, and are often worn concealed in the hair or hat.

There were two brothers, and one died. The other went to hunt and killed a deer. While he had it over the fire to singe, his dead brother's spirit came to him.<sup>3</sup> Then the man began to cut the meat into small pieces, and as fast as he cut it up, the spirit ate it; and as fast as he ate it, the meat came out of his anus. When the meat was almost

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<sup>1</sup> A rope lasso.

<sup>2</sup> An evil spirit.

<sup>3</sup> People in the house with the dead and the relatives must observe the *kanyau* (taboo) for ten days or they will meet the spirit of the dead person and it will harm them.

all gone, the man became very much afraid and started to run, and the spirit chased him. When he ran where some *alangtin* grew, the spirit stopped and said, "If you had not gone to the *alangtin*, I would have eaten you also."

## 51

One person was dead in a town. They buried him under the house. They did not put *banal*<sup>1</sup> and a plow iron over the grave. The *Ībwa* went there and saw there was no *banal* on the grave, so he was not afraid. He went there and took the dead man. He put one foot of the dead man over each shoulder and let him hang down over his back. A man saw him while he was walking in the street. The man told the people in the town what he had seen. The people did not believe it and went to see the grave. No dead man there, only the clothes and mat.

## 52

It is good to put some branches of trees in the ground near your head when you sleep out doors, so the spirits can not spit on you, for if they do, you will die.

One man who had lost his carabao went to the mountains to find; and at night he did not find, so he lay down near the path to sleep. He did not put any branches near his head, and in the night an evil spirit came and wanted to eat him; but when the spirit saw that he had the skin disease, he did not care to eat, so he spit on him. The man got up and went home, but soon he got sick and died.

## 53

When *Itneg*<sup>2</sup> go to hunt or have to sleep anywhere that spirits can get them it is good to use *sobosob*<sup>3</sup> or *banal*<sup>1</sup> under them for a mat.

Two men were in the mountains and had no mats to sleep on, so they pulled much *sobosob* and put it under them. That night the evil spirits came to get them but did not come very near. The men heard them say that they wanted to get them, but that it was bad for them if they got near the *sobosob*, so they left them alone.

(*Sobosob* and *banal* are sometimes put with the plow iron over a new grave as an added protection.)

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<sup>1</sup> *Smilax vicaria* Kunth.

<sup>2</sup> The name by which the Tinguian designate themselves.

<sup>3</sup> *Blumea balsamifera* D. C.

## 54

In the first time, three Tinguian went to hunt. At night they lay down to sleep and one of them, who had a *kambaya*,<sup>1</sup> had not gone to sleep when two spirits came near and saw him under the blanket. One turned to the other and said, "Here we have something to eat, for here is a little pig. Then that man took the blanket from the other man and put his blanket in its place, and the spirits came and ate that man. So we know it is bad to use that kind of blanket when you go where the spirits can get.

## 55

A man and woman had a beautiful daughter whom they always kept in the house.<sup>2</sup> One day while they were away in the fields, the girl went outside to pound rice. While she pounded, the spirit Bayon who lives in the sky came to see her. He was like a fresh breeze. Then the girl was like a person asleep, for she could not see nor hear. When she awoke in the sky, she dropped her rice pounder so that it fell near her home and then the people knew she was above. Bayon changed her two breasts into one large one, which he placed in the middle of her chest. When her parents made *Sayang*, the mediums called Bayon and his wife to come. They still come when some one calls them in the *Sayang*. The woman's name is Lokadya.

## 56

In the first times men went to the mountains to hunt deer and hogs. One man kept his dog in the open land outside of the forest, to wait for the game. While he waited there with his dog, the big bird Banog came to take him away; and it flew with him over the mountains near to Licuan.<sup>3</sup> The bird took him to her nest in the tree. There were two young birds in the nest. When the bird laid him in the nest he was on a branch of the tree. Three young pigs were in the nest. The bird went away to get animals. After it went away, the man cut the meat in small pieces for the young birds, and the man ate also because the tree was big and he could not go away. The bird brought deer and pigs all the time, and the man always cut the meat in small pieces. After a while the two young birds could fly near to the nest. When they were standing outside of the nest he held on to their wings and the birds flew

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<sup>1</sup> A blanket with red or yellow stripes which resemble the markings on a young wild pig.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 54, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> A mountain town in eastern Abra.

down under the tree. Then the man took his bolo and cut off their heads and took them to his town and made *layog*<sup>1</sup> for the heads. After the man's *layog*, he wanted to go to *alzados*<sup>2</sup> town to fight them. He had been near to the *alzados* town about one month.

While he was away, his wife died. He came back to the town and in the way he met his wife (her spirit) with a cow and two pigs. The man asked his wife where she was going. She said to him, "I am not a person any more, I am dead." Her husband wanted to touch her hand and his wife gave only her shortest finger. Her husband said, "Wait a while for me, I will go with you." His wife said, "If you go to our house, take the white chicken and you will see the footmarks of the cow and pigs." He followed the footmarks, and while he was walking he saw his wife washing in the river, under the tree. She said, "You come and I go with you to own town (i.e., spirit town), and I will put you in the rice bin, because the people in the town will want to eat you in the nighttime; but if they come in the nighttime, you must take some of the feathers of the chicken and throw at them, and I will bring you something to eat."

They went to the spirit town, and she put him in the rice bin, and gave him something to eat. In the evening, the spirits came to eat the man. The man took some of the feathers and threw at them. The spirits were afraid of the feathers. They did this every night, and his wife brought him something to eat every day. The spirits said to the man's wife, "We smell *Ipogau*."<sup>3</sup> His wife said, "No *Ipogau* in here." In about two weeks the feathers were nearly gone. Then his wife told him, "It is better for you to go home, because there are no more feathers. I will give you some rice for you to eat in the way. I will show you the road." The man agreed, and they went in the way. She showed him the road. While the man was walking in the way he saw his town and he asked for his wife. They said his wife was dead and they had buried her under his house; then he made *layog* for his wife.

## 57

The father of Siagon<sup>4</sup> was head man of Patok. He walked one night on the road which goes to Domayko. In the road he saw a big man whom he thought was Padawil. Then he smelt a bad odor and knew it was a *ladag*.<sup>5</sup> He struck it with his whip and it said, "Hah." It was

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<sup>1</sup> A ceremony held about a year after a funeral.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 10, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Spirit name for Tinguian.

<sup>4</sup> The three persons mentioned were still living when this story was recorded.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the spirit of a dead man which still remains near its old haunts.

night and he ran very fast to the council house, and on the way he threw away his clothes. When they came to the place where the spirit had stood, they found a deep hole there like a carabao wallow.

58<sup>1</sup>

Dalioya died; they put her in the ground under the house. After a while Baluga's rice was ripe and was ready to cut. Baluga went to cut it. He went home before dark from his field. Dalioya came out from the ground. She went to cut the rice for him. The next morning he went to cut the rice again. He saw the rice had been cut, but he did not know who cut it. He went home again before dark and went to cut the rice again the next morning. He saw again the rice cut by Dalioya, but he did not yet know who cut it. He said to himself, "I must wait for the person who comes to cut my rice." After dark his wife came, and Baluga lay down very still; when Dalioya walked near him, he waked up and caught her. Dalioya said, "Let me go." Baluga said, "No, I will not let you go." She said, "If you come with me to get my life, I will be very glad." "Yes," said he. Then they went down in the ground where is the spirit's home. When they got there the spirits were sleeping. Dalioya said, "Take that green bamboo cup, because they put my life in it. Baluga took it and they went up on the ground. One spirit waked up and said, "There are Baluga and his wife walking in our vine way." All the spirits ran to catch them. When the spirits were going up in the vine, Baluga cut the vine with his bolo. The spirits fell down. Baluga and his wife went home. As soon as they reached their home, they made a party. There were many people there on that big day. They were drinking *basi*, eating rice and meat, and singing and dancing because they were having a good time. That party lasted two days. After that the people went home. Baluga and Dalioya went to cut their rice.

## 59

The *alan*<sup>2</sup> once found the afterbirth outside the town and made it a real baby whose name was Sayen.

Sayen lived in BENBEN. He was very brave and often went to fight without companions.

He wanted to marry Danipán who lives in Kadalayapan, but she did not wish. She hid; so Sayen married her servant, thinking she was Danipán. The name of the servant was LAEY. Sayen took her home.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 28, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 14.

They had one baby. One day Sayen was making a plow under the house. Laey was in the house with her baby. She was singing in the house to her baby. "Sayen thinks I am Danipán, but I am Laey, Laey no aglage-le-gey-ley." Sayen heard the song and said to himself that his wife was not Danipán. He went up into the house and said, "Take off your upper arm beads, and in the morning you will go to the fields with your baby, because I will go there to plow." She said, "Yes." In the morning he went there. He went to cut down the bamboo bridge. At noon his wife carried food to him. She took her baby with her. When she reached the bamboo bridge it fell with her and they fell into the water. Sayen went back to his house. When he got there, he took his headaxe, spear, and shield, and he went to Kadalayapan. When he got there, he began to kill the people of the town. When he had killed many people the *lakay*<sup>1</sup> called Danipán, "Come out, Sayen is killing many people of the town, because you did something bad to him." She came out to Sayen and said to him, "Do not kill all the people, leave some of them so I can go to borrow fire from them." Sayen answered her, "Take the betel-nut in my bag and cut it in two pieces for me to eat, for I am very tired." She took the betel-nut from his bag and cut it in two pieces, and Sayen chewed the betel-nut. Sayen spat on some of the dead people and made them alive again and he married Danipán and took her to Benben.

When the people in Magisang<sup>2</sup> went to hunt deer and when they went to divide it, the *komau*, a big spirit who looks like a man, and who kills people,<sup>3</sup> went to them to ask them, "How many did you catch?" If they had caught two they told him "Two," and the *komau* said, "I caught two also." When they went to their town, there were two dead people there in their town. Anytime they went to hunt the *komau* asked them how many they had caught, and when they said how many, the *komau* always said he had that many, and when they reached the town that many were dead. The *komau* did that often and many people were dead. The people in Magisang heard that Sayen was a very brave man and they went to him to tell him about the *komau*. Sayen said to them, "I come, but I must hide by the trees. When the *komau* comes and asks you how many deer you have caught he will ask you where I am. You will say to him that you do not know where I am, because you did not hear of me yet. I am sure the *komau* will ask you where I am, because he will smell me." The people said, "Yes." They went

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<sup>1</sup> Head man.

<sup>2</sup> Near Namarabar in Ilocos Sur.

<sup>3</sup> The Ilocano consider the *komau* a fabulous, invisible bird which steals people and their possessions. See REYES, *El Folklore Filipino*, p. 40. Manila, 1899.

to hunt. When they reached the forest, they caught two deer and they went to the place where they singed and divided those deer which they had caught. While they were sitting there, the *komanu* came to them and said, "How many have you?" They answered, "Two." The *komanu* said, "I have two also. Sayen is here." The people said, "We do not know about Sayen, where he is." Then Sayen came out and killed the *komanu*.

Kabonīyan<sup>1</sup> went to Sayen in Benben and said, "Are you a brave man, Sayen? You are brave, because you killed the *komanu*." Sayen said, "Yes, I am a brave man." Kabonīyan said, "If you are a brave man, I will meet you in that place at a distance." Sayen said, "Yes." Kabonīyan told him the day when he would meet him, and Sayen was to stay in the lower place and Kabonīyan in the higher place. Sayen went there on that day. When he reached there and was waiting he heard a sound like a storm and said to himself, "Here is Kabonīyan." Kabonīyan called to him, "Are you there, Sayen?" "I am here," said Sayen. "Are you a brave man?" said Kabonīyan to Sayen. Sayen said, "Yes." Kabonīyan said to him, "Catch this," and he threw his spear. Sayen caught the spear. It was as big as a large tree. Kabonīyan asked, "Did you catch it?" "Yes," said Sayen. "Here is again," said Kabonīyan, and threw his headaxe. Sayen caught it. "Did you catch it, Sayen?" said Kabonīyan. Sayen said, "Yes." The axe was as large as the end roof of a house. Kabonīyan said, "Here is again," and threw his shield. Sayen caught it again. "Did you catch it, Sayen?" Sayen said, "Yes." Kabonīyan said, "Here is again," and threw a very big stone. Sayen caught it. "Did you catch it, Sayen?" said Kabonīyan. Sayen said, "Yes," and Kabonīyan said to him, "Wait for me, I come down to you." When Kabonīyan got there, he and Sayen fought face to face and they got tired, because Kabonīyan could not beat Sayen, and Sayen could not beat Kabonīyan. Sayen said, "I take my headaxe, because I am very tired." Kabonīyan said, "Do not take your headaxe; you are a brave man; I will be your friend and we will go to fight anywhere." Sayen said, "Yes." Then they were friends and went to fight in many towns. If the people in the town caught them in the way when they went home from fighting, or when they were in the river, Sayen could be a fish and hide. They fought in one town. Sayen became a chicken after fighting. He went under the house where the chickens roost. He did that many times and the people in the town noticed that Sayen could be a chicken or a fish. When he came with Kabonīyan to the town to fight

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<sup>1</sup> A powerful spirit.



the people, he went under the house to the chickens' place. The people said to themselves, "We will put a fish trap there, because Sayen after fighting goes in the chicken coop." They put a trap under the house by the coop. Sayen came in the town again to fight. After fighting he went under the house and he went into the trap, and the people caught and killed him.

This all happened not very long ago.

## 60

In the old times Malilipeng was walking along the trail in the woods when he heard the *alan*<sup>1</sup> in the trees. He laid down on his face as if dead and the *alan* who saw him began to wail, for they thought he was dead. When they brought gold and beads to place on him, he sprang up and drove them away. "Give us the one bead which is *nagaba*, or we will burn your house," said the *alan*. The man refused. When he reached home his house was burned, but he still had the bead.

## 61

Two men went to hunt wild pig. They killed one, but had no fire to singe it, so one man climbed a tree to see if he could see where was a fire. He saw a little fire at a distance and went to get it. When he got where the fire was, he saw it was in the house of an *alan*. He was very much afraid, but he went up and saw the *alan*, who had a baby, was asleep. He walked very quietly, but the *alan* woke up and said, "What do you want?" "I want fire, for we have killed a little wild pig." "Do not say little pig, but larger," said the *alan*. "Larger," said the man, for he was afraid. "Do not say larger, but big," said *alan*. "Big." "Do not say big, but very big," said the *alan*. "Very big," said the man. Then the *alan* gave him the fire, and she took her big basket and went with him to where the pig was. They singed the pig, and the *alan* cut it up with her nails. Then she gave the liver to the man, and told him to take it to her house and feed the baby. The man went, but on the way he ate the liver. When he got to the house, he saw a big caldron with hot water on the fire. He took the *alan*'s baby and put it in the hot water and then went back. "Did the baby eat well?" asked the *alan*. "Very well," he answered. Then the *alan* put most of the meat in her basket and started home. The man told his companion what he had done and they were both very much afraid; so they ran to hide.

When the *alan* got home, she saw the baby dead in the water.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 14.

Then she went to find the men. They had climbed a high tree which stood near the water, and when the *alan* looked in the water, she saw them in it. She put her hand in the water and tried to get them, but could not; then she looked up and saw them again. "How did you get up there?" she asked. "We climbed up feet first." Then the *alan* seized a vine and started up the tree feet first. When she had almost reached them, they cut the vine and the *alan* fell to the ground and was dead. The men came down from the tree and went to the house of the *alan*. When they got there, they saw three jars: the first was full of dung; the second, of beads; the third, of gold. They took the jars with the beads and gold and went home.

## 62

The earth, which is very flat, was made by the great spirit Kadaklan. He also made the sun and moon, which chase each other over and under the earth. Sometimes the moon almost catches the sun, but it always gets tired and gives up before it succeeds. The sun and moon are the lights of Kadaklan and so are the stones which are stars. The dog of Kadaklan is the lightning.

## 63

Kaboniyan once sent a flood which covered all the land. There was no place for the fire to go, so it went into the bamboo, the stones, and the iron. Now that is why you can get fire out of the bamboo and stones.

## 64

A man planted rice in the high land. When it was grown, he saw that something was eating it, though he had a fence around it. One night he went to watch his field. About midnight he heard many wings and saw some big animals with wings alight in his rice. He ran and caught one, and cut off its wings. The animal was pregnant and soon had a young one. Since then there have been horses on the earth, but people have never seen any more fly. You can see the place on the horse's legs where the wings used to be.

## 65

A lazy man was planting corn in the high land. He would plant a few seeds and then put his planting stick in the ground and lean back on it. After a while the stick grew there and was a tail, and the man became a monkey.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the Bagobo version of this tale, a ladle becomes the monkey's tail. See BENEDICT, *Journal American Folklore*, Vol. XXVI, 1913, p. 21.

## 66

A very lazy boy got a piece of sugar-cane and went home with it. When he got home, he told his mother to take off the outside of the stalk so he might eat it. His mother was angry to see him so lazy and told him that if he could not take it off himself, to stick it up his anus. He did so and became a monkey.

## 67

A very lazy girl would not learn to spin, and always pretended that she did not know how. One day she took the cotton and asked the women what to do with it. "Beat it out," they said. Then she asked, "What shall I do with it then?" "Put it in a betel leaf on a stick and spin it." Again she asked, "How shall I spin it?" "If you do not know how to spin, put the stick up your anus." She did so, and became a monkey. After that there were many monkeys.

68<sup>1</sup>

In an early time, the Tinguian were like the *alzado*,<sup>2</sup> and hunted heads. The men from one town started to another on the other side of the Abra river to get heads. While they were on the way, it rained very hard; and when they reached the river, they could not get across, so they prayed to the Spirit that he would give them wings to cross. They at once became birds; but when they reached the other side of the river, they could not resume the forms of men. Some of the men's wives had just died, and they had bark bands on their heads, as is the Tinguian custom. When these became birds, their heads were white; but those of the others were black, and so they are to this day.

## 69

A mother had a very lazy boy who could do nothing. One day she went away to get something, and she put a big basket over the boy. When she came home, she took the basket up, but instead of the boy there was a bird which flew away, crying "sigakok, sigakok, sigakok,"—"lazy, lazy, lazy." And so that bird is called *sigakok*.

## 70

A long time ago there was a young man who cut all the trees in a little wood. When he had cut up them, he burned them, and he planted rice in the field. In a few days the rice was ready to cut and the young

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<sup>1</sup> A story accounting for the origin of the *kálan*, a bird.

<sup>2</sup> See page 10, note 1.

man went to find a girl for him to marry. He found a girl in the other town. He married her and he took her with him to his home. When they got home the man said to his wife, "Let us go to see our rice." They went to see the rice. At midday they went home. The next day the man sent his wife to go to cut the rice. When she got to the rice, she thought to herself that she could not cut it in a month. Said she to herself, "I want to be a bird." She lay down on the floor in a little house that the man had made. She put her hat over her to be her blanket. Then she became a bird which we call *kakok* now. Her cloth became her feathers. In the morning the man went with some rice for his wife to eat. When he got there, he could not see his wife. He walked and walked, but he did not find her, then he came to the little house. He saw his wife's hat, and he picked it up. The bird flew away, crying "kakok, kakok."

## 71

In the first time Ganoway was the man who possessed a dog which caught many deer; and Kaboniyan allowed. The dog pursued the deer which went in a cave in the rock. The dog went in also, and Ganoway followed into the hole in the rock. He walked, always following the dog which was barking, and he felt the shrubs which he touched. The shrubs all had fruit which tinkled when he touched them. Then he broke off those branches which tinkled as he touched them, and Kaboniyan allowed. He came to the end of the cave in the rock which was at the river Makatbay, and his dog was there, for he had already caught the deer, which was a buck. It was light in the place where he was, at the river Makatbay, and he looked at the shrub which he had broken off in the dark place in the cave. He saw that the shrub was *denglay* which bore fruit — the choice agate bead, which is good for the Tinguian dress. He was glad. He cut up the deer into pieces and placed it on a bamboo pole which he carried. He thought always of the beads and wished to return to that shrub which he touched. He returned and searched, but was not able to find it, and because he failed he returned to his home in An-nay. There was not one who did not envy him those beads which he brought home, and they asked him to show them the way to the cave. He showed them the hole in the rock where he and his dog had gone in. They took torches and walked, always walked, but at last they were not able to go further, for the rest of the cave was closed. That place is now called Ganoway, for he was the one who secured the beads which grew in the cave of Kaboniyan, which cave the spirit always keeps clean.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The cave is situated in the mountains, midway between Patok and Santa Rosa.

## 72

Magsawī, my jar, when it was not yet broken talked softly, but now its lines are broken, and the low tones are insufficient for us to understand. The jar was not made where the Chinese are, but belongs to the spirits or Kabonīyan, because my father and grandfather, from whom I inherited it, said that in the first times they (the Tinguians) hunted Magsawī on the mountains and in the wooded hills. My ancestors thought that their dog had brought a deer to bay, which he was catching, and they hurried to assist it. They saw the jar and tried to catch it but were unable; sometimes it disappeared, sometimes it appeared again, and because they could not catch it they went again to the wooded hill on their way to their town. Then they heard a voice speaking words which they understood, but they could see no man. The words it spoke were: "You secure a pig, a sow without young, and take its blood, so that you may catch the jar which your dog pursued." They obeyed and went to secure the blood. The dog again brought to bay the jar which belonged to Kabonīyan. They plainly saw the jar go through a hole in the rock which is a cave, and there it was cornered so that they captured the pretty jar which is Magsawī, which I inherited.

(Told by Cabildo, of Patok, the owner of the famous talking jar, Magsawī.)

## 73

Once then sun and moon fought. The sun said, "You are moon, not so good; if I give you no light, you are no good." The moon answered, "You are sun and very hot. I am moon and am better. The women like me very much, and when I shine they go out doors to spin." Then the sun was very angry and took some sand and threw it on the moon, and that is why there are dark places on the moon now.

## 74

In the old time, a man went with others to get heads. They were gone very, very long, and the man's daughter, who was little when he went away, was grown up and beautiful when he returned. When he got to the gate of the town, his daughter went to hold the ladder for him to come in.<sup>1</sup> The man did not recognize his daughter, and when he saw her holding the ladder for him, he threw his arms around the ladder and seized and kissed her. The girl was very sorrowful because her father had not recognized her and had misunderstood her intentions; so

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<sup>1</sup> The old custom was that when a party returned from a head hunt the women went to the gate and held ladders in a  $\Delta$  so the men did not pass through the gate; or they laid them on the ground and the men jumped over them.

she went home and said to her mother, "It is better now that I become a coconut tree, to stand close by our house." In the morning the man and his wife missed the girl, and when they looked out doors, there stood a fine coconut tree close to the house; so they knew that she had changed to the tree.

## 75

In the old times there were two flying snakes in the gap of the Abra river.<sup>1</sup> Many men had been killed by them. So the head man of Abra invited Malona and Biwag, two very brave men from Cagayan, to come and help him kill the snakes. They came at once with big bolos, shields, and the trunk of the banana tree, which they used to fight with. When they arrived, they were taken to the gap, and the snakes attacked them. The men fought with the trunk of the banana tree, and the wings of the snakes stuck to the trunk; so they killed them easily. When they had killed them, they came back to the leader and showed him, and he asked what should be their pay. They did not ask any reward, but the leader gave them gold in the form of deer and horses. Then they went home, and after that the people of Abra could pass through the gap.

## 76

Hundreds of years ago there were two people who were husband and wife. Their names were Tagápen and Gíáben, and they had only one son whose name was Soliben. Those people came from Ilocos Norte; they came down to Vigan to pass a while, then came into the Abra river. When they were in Banoáng, they sailed on a raft in the Abra river to come up to Langiden. When they reached that town, they stopped there to stay a short time, because Tagápen went to the town to give thoughts to the people there and to give a nice face to the girls. When Tagápen was in the town, in Langiden, his son Soliben was weeping on the raft by his mother. "Sleep, sleep, sleep, my dear son, because your father is not here yet; it-to-tes, it-to-tes, so sleep my son, do not weep," said his mother, whose name is Gíáben. When Tagápen came back from the town of Langiden, they began to sail again until they came to Pidigan. When they reached the town of Pidigan, they stopped there because Tagápen went to the town to give a nice face to the ladies and girls. Then his son wept again, "Oh, dear son, sleep, sleep, sleep; oh, dear son, sleep, sleep, sleep, for your father is not here yet. When he comes back, he will get bananas for you to eat. It-to-tes, it-to-tes, it-to-tes, sleep, Soliben, sleep, my son; do not weep; your father will give you to eat," said the mother. In a short time Tagápen

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<sup>1</sup> The river emerges from Abra through a narrow pass in the mountains.

came back from the town and they sailed to come up. When they reached the mouth of the Sinalang river, they came up in the river; they sailed up here; this is the river of Sinalang town (Patok). "We go there to give the people some nice face and good thoughts, so they will be very wise." When they arrived in Sinalang town, they left their raft in the river and went up in the town. When they reached the town, every person went to them to give their regards. Tagápen and his wife with her son stayed in a little house we call *balaua*; they lived there teaching many *dalengs*<sup>1</sup> and *bagayos*<sup>1</sup> of the Tinguian people.

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<sup>1</sup> Songs.

## FABLES

### 77

#### THE TURTLE AND THE MONKEY

There was once a turtle and a monkey who went to make a clearing. The monkey did not work, but the turtle was the one which cleared the land. When one day passed, "Let us go to plant," said the turtle. They went, and banana was what they went to plant. The turtle planted his in the clearing, but the monkey hung his in a tree when he went to climb. Five days passed. "Let us go to see our planting," said the turtle. When they arrived where they had planted, the monkey saw that his banana was dry, but that which the turtle had planted bore ripe fruit. When the monkey reached the place where the turtle sat, "I am waiting for you, monkey, for I cannot climb my banana tree." "Give me fruit, and I will go to climb. My banana which I hung in the tree did not bear fruit," said the monkey. The turtle laughed and agreed, but when the monkey climbed in the tree he only ate and did not throw down any fruit. "Give me, monkey," said the turtle. "The thumb still eats," replied the monkey. Then he pushed a banana up his anus and after that threw it down. The turtle ate it and again asked for fruit. "The little finger still eats," said the monkey. Then he finished eating the fruit and he slept on the banana tree. The turtle went to search for long sharp shells, and when he had secured them he planted them upright around the tree, and cried, "Bad in the east. Bad in the west." Then the monkey jumped, and the shells pierced his side so that he died.

The turtle dried his meat and sold it to the other monkeys, and when he had finished selling he went under the house and hid beneath a coconut shell. When all the monkeys had eaten the turtle cried, "They eat their relative." Then the monkeys heard, but could not see. The turtle called many times until at last they found him beneath the coconut shell. They agreed to kill him with the axe, but the turtle laughed and pointed to the marks on his back.<sup>1</sup> The monkeys believed him when he said he had often been cut by his father and grandfather; so they did not cut, but went to get fire. "You cannot kill me with

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<sup>1</sup> A similar incident is found in the Northern Celebes and among the Kenyah of Borneo. See BEZMER, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 304. (Haag, 1904.) HOSE and McDOUGALL, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*. Vol. II, p. 148, London, 1912.



that. Do you not see that my back is almost black from burning." "Ay-ay," said the monkeys, "let us tie a stone to his waist and drown him in the lake." The turtle cried and begged them to spare him, but the monkeys did not know that the water was the cause of his living, for it was his home. They threw him in the lake and when they had watched a long time, they saw him float on the water and he was holding a large fish. Then all the monkeys tied stones to their waists and dived in the lake to catch fish. They did not float in the lake, but they died. Only a pregnant monkey was left, but the turtle came and drowned her also.<sup>1</sup>

## 78

A turtle and a big lizard went to the field of Gotgotapa to steal ginger. When they got there the turtle told the lizard he must be very still; but when the lizard tasted the ginger, he exclaimed, "The ginger of Gotgotapa is very good." "Be still," said the turtle; but again the lizard shouted louder than before. Then the man heard and came out of his house to catch the robbers. The turtle could not run fast, so he lay very still, and the man did not see him; but the lizard ran and the man chased him. When they were very far, the turtle went into the house. Now, the man had a coconut shell which he used to sit on, and the turtle hid under it.

The man could not catch the lizard, so in a while he came back to his house and sat on the shell. Bye and bye, the turtle called "Kook." Then the man jumped up and looked all around to find where the noise came from, but he could not find. The turtle called "Kook" again and the man tried very hard to find what made the noise. The turtle called a third time more loudly and then the man thought it was his testicles which made the noise, so he took a stone and hit them; then he died and the turtle ran away.

When the turtle got a long way, he met the lizard again and they saw some honey on the branch of a tree. "I run first to get," said the turtle; but the big lizard ran fast and seized the honey; then the bees stung him and he ran back to the turtle. On their road they saw a bird snare. The turtle said, "That is the *paliget*<sup>2</sup> of my grandfather." Then the lizard ran very fast to get it, but it caught his neck and held him until the man who owned it came and killed him. Then the turtle went away.

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<sup>1</sup> A variant of this tale is told by the Bagobo of southern Mindanao. See BENE-DICT, *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. XXVI, 1913, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> The gold or silver wire worn by women or men about their necks.

## 79

The *polo*<sup>1</sup> said to a boy named Ilonen, "Tik-tik-loden, come and catch me," many times. Then the boy answered, "I am making a snare for you." The bird called again, "Tik-tik-loden." "I am almost finished," said Ilonen. Then the bird called again and the boy came and put the snare over the bird and caught it. He took it home and put it in a jar and then went with the other boys to swim. While he was gone, his grandmother ate the bird. Ilonen came back and went to the jar to see the bird, but no bird. "Where is my bird?" he said. "I do not know," said his grandmother. "Let me see your anus," said the boy. Then he saw his grandmother's anus and he saw feathers there and was very angry. "It is better I get lost," he said and went away. He came to a big stone called *balintogan* and said, "Stone, open your mouth and eat me." Then the stone opened his mouth and swallowed the boy. His grandmother went to find him and looked very much. When she came to the stone, it said, "Here is." She called the horses to come to the stone. They kicked it, but could not break. She called the carabao and they hooked it, but only broke their horns; then she called the chickens and they pecked it, but could not open. Then she called thunder, but it could not help. Then her friends came to open the stone, but could not, so she went home without the boy.

## 80

A frog was fastened to a fish hook in the water. A fish came and said, "What are you doing?" "I am swinging," said the frog, "come and try if you wish." But the fish was angry with the frog. "You can not catch me," said the frog. Then the fish jumped up to catch him, but the frog pushed his anus upon the stick and left the hook so the fish was caught.

## 81

The five fingers were brothers. The other four sent the little thumb to get *posel*.<sup>2</sup> He went to get, but when he got there, the *posel* said, "Kiss me, for I have a good odor to you." So the thumb kissed him, and his nose stuck to the bamboo. The others could not wait so long, so they sent the first finger to get. When he got there, he saw the thumb, and said, "What are you doing?" "I am smelling this *posel*, for it has a good smell." Then the first finger smelled and his nose was caught. The others could not wait, so they sent the second

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<sup>1</sup> A little bird.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of bamboo.

finger and it happened the same. Also the third, and he also became fast. Then little finger went and when he saw the others, he said, "You are very crazy," and he cut them loose.

82<sup>1</sup>

Carabao met *loson*<sup>2</sup> in the river. "You are very slow," said the carabao. "No, I can beat you in a race," said *loson*. "Let us try," said the carabao. So they started to run. When the carabao reached a long distance, he called, "Shell," and another shell lying by the river answered, "Yes." He ran again and again, and every time he stopped to call, another shell answered. At least the carabao ran until he died.

## 83

A crab and *kool*<sup>3</sup> went to the forest to get wood for fuel. The crab cut his wood and the shell went to cut his. "Tie very good your wood which you get," said *kool* to the crab. The crab pulled the ropes so tightly that he broke his big legs and died. When the shell went to see where the crab was, he found him dead, and he begun to cry until he belched; then his meat came out of his shell and he was dead also.

84<sup>4</sup>

A mosquito came to bite a man. The man said, "You are very little and can do nothing to me." The mosquito answered, "If you had no ears, I would eat you."

## 85

A boy's parents sent a man to carry gifts to the girl's house, and see if they would agree to a marriage. When he got to the door of the house, the people were all eating *kool*, and when they sucked the meat out of the shell, they nodded their heads. The man saw them nod, so did not state his errand, but returned and said that the people in the house all desired the union. Then the boy's people got ready the things for *pakálon*<sup>5</sup> and went to the girl's house. The girl's parents were very much surprised.

## 86

A man went to the other town. When he got there, the people were eating *labon*.<sup>6</sup> He asked them what they ate, and they said *pangaldanen*

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<sup>1</sup> For other versions of this tale see p. 29, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> A shell.

<sup>3</sup> A shell.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 29, note 4, for Borneo parallel.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Bamboo sprouts.

(the bamboo ladder is called "*aldan*"). He went home and had nothing to eat but rice, so he cut his ladder into small pieces and cooked all day, but the bamboo was still very hard. He could not wait longer, so called his friends and asked why he could not make it like the people had in the other town. Then his friends laughed and told him his mistake.

## 87

A man went to get coconuts and loaded his horse heavily. He met a boy and asked how long to his house. "If you go slowly, very soon; if you go fast, all day," said the boy. The man did not believe, so hurried his horse and the coconuts fell off, so he had to stop and pick them up. He did this many times and it was night before he got home.

## 88

Two women went to get *atimon*<sup>1</sup> which belonged to the crocodile. "You must not throw the rind with your teeth marks where the crocodile can see it," said the first woman. Then they ate; but the other woman threw a rind with her teeth marks in the river, and the crocodile saw it and knew who the woman was. He was very angry and went to her house and called the people to send out the woman so he could eat her, for she had eaten his *atimon*. "Yes," they said, "but sit down and wait a while." Then they put the iron soil turner in the fire until it was red hot. "Eat this first," they said to the crocodile, and when he opened his mouth, they threw it very far into his body and he died.

89<sup>2</sup>

There was a man named Dogidog who was very lazy and very poor. His house was small and had no floor, only the boards to put the floor on. He went to the forest to cut bamboo with which to make a floor, and he carried cooked rice with him. When he got there he hung the rice in a tree and went to cut the bamboo. While he was gone, a cat came and ate the rice, so when the man got hungry and came to eat, he had no rice, so he went home. The next day he went to cut again, and when he had hung the rice in the tree, the cat came to eat it. The third day he went again and hung the rice in the tree, but fixed it in a trap; then he hid in some brush and did not cut bamboo. The cat came to eat the rice and was caught. Then the man said, "I will kill you."

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<sup>1</sup> The fruit of a wild vine.

<sup>2</sup> The chief incidents in this tale resemble those in the Sea Dayak story of Sim-pang Impang. See HOSE and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 144 ff. (London, 1912.)

"No," said the cat, "do not kill me." "Alright, then I take you home to watch my house," said the man. Then he took the cat home, and tied it near the door of his house and went away. When he came back, the cat had become a cock.

"Now I go to the cock fight at Magsingal,"<sup>1</sup> said Dogidog, and he put his rooster under his arm and started for the place. He was crossing a river when he met a crocodile. "Where are you going, Dogidog?" said the crocodile. "To the cock fight at Magsingal," said the man. "Wait, I go with you," said the crocodile. Then they went. Soon they met a deer. "Where are you going, Dogidog?" said the deer. "To the cock fight at Magsingal," said the man. "Wait, I go with you," said the deer. Then they went again. In the way they met Bunton.<sup>2</sup> "Where are you going?" said it. "To Magsingal to the cock fight," said the man. "Wait, I go with you," said the mound. Then they went again and soon they met a monkey. "Where are you going, Dogidog?" said the monkey. "To the cock fight at Magsingal," said the man. "Wait, I go with you," said the monkey. Then they went until they reached the place where was the fight in Magsingal.

The crocodile said to Dogidog, "If any man wants to sink in the water, I can beat him." The deer said, "If any man wants to run, I am very fast." Then the earth said, "If any man wants to wrestle, I know very well how to do." The monkey said, "If any man wants to climb, I can go higher." Then they took the rooster to the place of the fighting, and Dogidog had him fight the other rooster. But the rooster had been a cat before, and he seized the other rooster in his claws, as a cat does, and killed it. Then the people brought many roosters and bet much money and the rooster of Dogidog, which was a cat before, killed them all, so there were no more roosters in Magsingal, and Dogidog won much money.

The people wanted some other sport, so they brought a man who could stay very long under water, and Dogidog had him try with the crocodile. After more than two hours, the man had to come up first. Then the people brought a man who runs very fast, and the deer raced with him, and the man could not beat the deer for he was very fast. Then they brought a very big man, but he could not throw the earth. Last, the people brought a man who climbs very well and the monkey climbed with him, and went much higher than the man.

Dogidog had very much money and he bought two horses to carry the sacks of silver to his house. When he got near to the town, he tied

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<sup>1</sup> A town in Ilocos Sur.

<sup>2</sup> A mound of earth raised by the ants.

his horses and went to tell his mother to go and ask to buy the good house from the rich man. "How can you buy?" said the rich man, "when you have no money?" Then his mother went home and the man went to get two sacks of money to send to the rich man. When the rich man saw so much money, he said, "Yes," for the money was in sacks and was not counted. Then Dogidog went to live in the good house and the rich man still had no house, so he had no where to go when the rain came.

## 90

A wood-chopper went to the woods. When he passed where the brook ran, "Go away, go away," he said to Banbantay, the spirit of the brook. He heard a voice in the thicket. The voice said, "I should think he would see me." The man answered, "Yes, I see you." The spirit said, "Where am I now?" The man answered, "You are in the thicket." The spirit came down and said, "Put my *poncho* on you." When he has it on, no one can see him.<sup>1</sup> "See if I really can see you in my *poncho*." The man took the *poncho* and put it on, then the spirit could not see him any more, because the cloth made him invisible. Then the man went home. When he reached there, he said to his wife, "Wife, where am I now?" She cried because she thought him dead. He said, "Do not cry, for I am not dead, but I have received a *poncho* which makes me invisible." The man took off his *poncho* and embraced his wife, which made his wife laugh at him, for she knew then that her husband was powerful.

## 91

A fisherman went to catch fish with his throw net. While he was fishing, a big bird, Banog, saw him. It seized the man, put him on its back and flew away. It lighted on a very big tree in the forest. In the thicket there was a nest with two small Banog in it.

After the bird had put the man near the nest, it flew away again, and the nestlings wished to eat the man, but he defended himself so they could not eat him. He took one in each hand and jumped from the tree, and the young birds broke his fall so that he was not hurt. The man was much frightened by the things which had happened to him, and he ran to his home. When he arrived home, he told with tears what had happened to him. His family were very happy over his return, and made him promise not to go alone again to fish.

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<sup>1</sup> Same idea is held by the Ilocano. See REYES, *El Folklore Filipino*, p. 34. Manila, 1889. See also p. 29, note 7.

## ABSTRACTS

### I

Two women are gathering greens when a vine wraps around one and carries her to the sky. She is placed near to spring, the sands of which are rare beads. Small house near by proves to be home of the sun. Woman hides until owner goes into sky to shine, then goes to house and prepares food. Breaks up fish stick and cooks it. It becomes fish. Single grain of rice cooked in pot the size of a "rooster's egg" becomes sufficient for her meal. Goes to sleep in house. Sun returns and sees house which appears to be burning. Investigates and finds appearance of flames comes from beautiful woman. Starts to prepare food, but awakens visitor. She vanishes. Each day sun finds food cooked for him. Gets big star to take his place in sky; returns home unexpectedly and surprises woman. They chew betel-nut together and tell their names. The quids turn to agate beads, showing them to be related, and thus suitable for marriage. Each night sun catches fish, but woman refuses it, and furnishes meat by cooking fish stick.

Woman decides to go with husband on daily journey through sky. When in middle of heavens she turns to oil. Husband puts her in a bottle and drops it to earth. Bottle falls in woman's own town, where she resumes old form and tells false tale of her absence. She becomes ill, asks mother to prick her little finger. Mother does so and child pops out. Child grows each time it is bathed. Girl refuses to divulge name of child's father. Parents decide to celebrate *balaua* and invite all people. Send out oiled betel-nuts covered with gold to invite guests. When one refuses, nut begins to grow on his knee or prized animal until invitation is accepted. Child is placed by gate of town in hopes it will recognize its father. Gives no sign until sun appears, then goes to it. Sun appears as round stone. Girl's parents are angry because of her choice of a husband and send her away without good clothes or ornaments.

Sun, wife and child return home. Sun assumes form of man. They celebrate *balaua* and invite all their relatives. Guests chew betel-nuts and the quid of the sun goes to that of Pagbokásan, so it is known that the latter is his father. Parents of sun pay marriage price to girl's people.

## 2

Aponibolinayen who is very ill expresses a desire for mangoes which belong to Algaba of Dalaga. Her brother dispatches two men with presents to secure them. One carries an earring, the other an egg. On way egg hatches and soon becomes a rooster which crows. They spread a belt on the water and ride across the river. When they bathe, the drops of water from their bodies turn to agate beads. Find way to Algaba's house by following the row of headbaskets, which reaches from the river to his dwelling. Defensive fence around the town is made up of boa constrictors, which sleep as they pass. Algaba seizes his spear and headaxe intending to kill the visitors, but weapons shed tears of oil. He takes other weapons, but they weep tears of blood. He then makes friends of the intruders. Learning their mission he refuses their gifts, but gets fruit and returns with them to their town. On way he uses magic and causes the death of Aponibolinayen. He takes her in his arms and restores her to life. While she rests in his arms, their rings exchange themselves. They chew betel-nuts and tell their names. The quids turn to agate beads and lie in rows. This is good sign. They marry and go to Algaba's town. They celebrate *Sayang* and send betel-nuts to invite their relatives. When the guests cross the river, the drops of water which run from their bodies are agate beads and stones of the river are of gold. Guests all chew betel-nut and lay down their quids. By arrangement of quids they learn the true parents of Algaba. His brother-in-law wishes to marry his new found sister and offers an engagement present. An earring is put in a jar and it is at once filled with gold, but Algaba lifts his eyebrows and half of the gold vanishes. Another earring is put in jar, and it is again full. Marriage price is paid later.

## 3

Aponitolau falls in love with girl he meets at the spring. They chew betel-nuts and tell their names. Girl gives false name and vanishes. Aponitolau sends his mother to arrange for his marriage with the girl. She wears a hat which is like a bird, and it gives her a bad sign, but she goes on. She crosses river by using her belt as a raft. The girl's parents agree to the match and price to be paid. Girl accepts a little jar and agate beads as engagement present. When Aponitolau goes to claim bride, he finds he is betrothed to wrong girl. His parents celebrate *Sayang* and invite many people, hoping to learn identity of girl at spring. She does not attend, but Aponitolau finds her among betel-nuts brought him by the spirit helpers. They chew



betel-nuts and learn they are related and that both possess magical power.

After their marriage Aponitolau goes to his field. There he keeps many kinds of jars which act like cattle. He feeds them with *lawed* leaves and salt. While he is gone, the woman to whom he was first betrothed kills his new wife. He restores her to life. Takes her and her parents to the field to see him feed his jars.

#### 4

A bird directs Aponitolau in his search for the maiden Asibowan. Girl furnishes him with food by cooking a fish stick. They have a daughter who grows one span each time she is bathed. Aponitolau discovers that his parents are searching for him, and determines to go home. Asibowan refuses to accompany him, but uses magic and transfers him and child to his town.

Aponitolau falls in love with girl he sees bathing, and his mother goes to consult her parents. She crosses river by using her belt as a raft; when she bathes, the drops of water from her body become agate beads. The girl's people agree to the marriage and accept payment for her.

Aponitolau and his bride celebrate *Sayang* and send out betel-nuts to invite the guests. Asibowan refuses to attend, but a betel-nut grows on her pig until, out of pity, she consents.

After the ceremony the brother of the bride turns himself into a firefly and follows her new sister-in-law. Later he again assumes human form and secures her as his wife.

#### 5

The mother of Gawigawen is well received when she goes to seek a wife for her son. The girl's mother furnishes fish by breaking and cooking the fish stick. A day is set for payment of the marriage price. Guests assemble and dance. When bride dances she is so beautiful that sunshine vanishes, water from the river comes up into the town and fish bite her heels. When she arrives at her husband's home, she finds sands and grass of spring are made up of beads, and the walk and place to set jars are large plates. Her husband cuts off head of an old man and a new spring appears; his blood becomes beads and his body a great shade tree. Bride who has not yet seen the face of her husband is misled by evil tales of jealous women, and believes him to be a monster. During night she turns to oil, slips through floor and escapes. In jungle she meets rooster and monkey, who tell her she is mistaken and advise her to return home. She continues her way and finally

reaches ocean. Is carried across by a carabao which at once informs its master of the girl's presence.

The master comes and meets girl. They chew betel-nut, and the quids turn to agate beads, so they marry.

They make *Sayang* and send betel-nuts to summon relatives. Nuts grow on pet pigs of those who refuse to go.

Guests are carried across river by betel-nuts. During dance Gawigawen recognizes his lost wife and seizes her. Is speared to death by the new husband, but is later brought back to life. In meantime the *alan* (spirits) inform the parents of the new groom that he is their child (from menstrual blood). Parents repay Gawigawen for his lost bride, and also make payment to the girl's family.

## 6

The enemies of Aponibolinayen, thinking her without the protection of a brother, go to fight her. She glances off their spears with her elbows. Her weapons kill all but Ginambo, who agrees to continue fight in one month.

Aponigawani has a similar experience with her enemies. A month later the two women meet as they go to continue the fight against their foes. They chew betel-nut, and quid of Aponibolinayen is covered with gold and that of her companion becomes an agate bead. They agree to aid each other. Go to fight and are hard pressed by foes. Spirit helpers go to summon aid of two men who turn out to be their brothers — were miscarriage children who had been raised by the *alan*. They go to aid sisters and kill so many people that pig troughs are floating in blood. One puts girls inside belt. They kill all the enemies and send their heads and plunder to the girls' homes. Brothers take girls to their parents. Father and mother of Aponigawani celebrate *balana* and summon guests by means of oiled betel-nuts covered with gold. Guests chew betel-nut and spittle of children goes to that of parents, so relationship is established. *Alan* explain how they raised the miscarriage children. Heads of enemies are placed around the town and people dance for one month. Aponibolinayen marries brother of Aponigawani, who in turn marries the brother of her friend. Usual celebration and payments made. Relatives receive part of price paid for brides.

## 7

Aponitolau dons his best garments, takes his headaxe and spear, and goes to fight. When he reaches the spring which belongs to the ten-headed giant Giambolan, he kills all the girls, who are there getting

water, and takes their heads. The giant in vain tries to injure him. Spear and headaxe of Aponitolau kill the giant and all the people of his town and cut off their heads. Heads are sent in order to hero's town — giants' heads first, then men's, and finally women's. On return journey Aponitolau is followed by enemies. He commands his flint and steel to become a high bank which prevents his foes from following. Upon his arrival home a great celebration is held; people dance, and skulls are placed around the town.

## 8

Aponitolau and his wife decide to celebrate *Sayang*, but he goes first to take the head of old man Ta-ōdan. He uses magic and arrives at once where foe lives. They fight and Ta-ōdan is beheaded. While Aponitolau is gone, an Ilocano comes to town and tries to visit his wife. She at first refuses to see him, but when he returns a needle she has dropped he puts a love charm on it. She then receives him into house. He remains until Aponitolau returns, then leaves so hastily he forgets his belt of gold. Woman hides belt in rice granary, but it reveals self by shining like fire. Aponitolau is suspicious and determines to find owner. As guests arrive for the celebration, he tries belt on each until he finds right one. He cuts off his head and it flies at once to his wife's breasts and hangs there. She flees with her children. They reach town, which is guarded by two kinds of lightning, but they are asleep and let them pass. They sleep in the *balaua* and are discovered by the owner of the place, who turns out to be an afterbirth brother of the woman. He removes the head of the dead Ilocano from her breasts. Betel-nuts are sent to summon their father and mother, who are surprised to learn of their afterbirth son. He returns home with them. Aponitolau fails to be reconciled to his faithless wife.

## 9

Ayo is hidden by her brother, but meets Dagdagālīsīt, who is fishing, and becomes pregnant. Child pops out between third and fourth fingers when Ayo has her hand pricked. Baby objects to first name; so is called Kanag. Milk from Ayo's breasts falls on her brother's legs while she is lousing him, and he thus learns of the child. He determines to build a *balaua* and invite all people, so he may learn who the father is. Sends out oiled betel-nuts to invite the guests and when one refuses to attend they grow on him or his pet pig. Dagdagālīsīt attends wearing only a clout of dried banana leaves. Brother of Ayo is enraged at her match and sends her and the baby away with her poor husband. When they arrive at her new home, Ayo finds her husband a handsome

man who lives in a golden house, and whose spring has gravel of gold and agates. They summon their relatives to celebrate *balaua* with them. While Ayo's brother is dancing, her husband cuts off his head, but he is brought back to life. Ayo's husband pays her parents for her, but half the payment vanishes when her mother raises eyebrows. Husband again completes payment. They chew betel-nut and the quids of the children go to those of their parents. Dagdagalisit's parents learn he is a miscarriage child who was cared for by the *alan* (spirits).

# IO

Aponibalagen uses magic to create a residence in the ocean for his sister. Takes her and companions there on backs of crocodiles. Returns home.

Ingiwan who is walking is confronted by high bank and is forced to cross the ocean. Rides on his headaxe past the sleeping crocodiles which guard the maiden. Turns self into firefly and reaches girl. Assumes own form and chews betel-nut with her. Omens are good. He returns home and soon maiden is troubled with intense itching between her last fingers. She has place pricked, and baby boy pops out. Child grows one span at each bath. Aponibalagen learns of child when milk from sister's breasts falls on him. He takes her home and prepares to celebrate *balaua*. Oiled betel-nuts are sent to summon guests. They grow on knees of those who refuse to attend. Ingiwan, poorly clad, appears at the ceremony and is recognized by the child but not by its mother. Girl's brother, in rage, sends her away with the stranger. He assumes own form and proves to be handsome and wealthy. When they celebrate *balaua*, they chew betel-nut and thus learn who are his true parents.

# II

When Aponitolau goes to visit his cousin, he finds him celebrating *Sayang*. He is incensed because no invitation has reached him, so sits in shade of tree near the spring instead of going up to the village. He finds the switch lost by Aponibolinayen. He is induced to attend the ceremony, where he meets with an old enemy, and they fight. The hawk sees the struggle and reports the death of Aponitolau to his sister. She sends her companions to avenge the death and they kill many people before they learn that the hawk was mistaken. Aponitolau restores the slain to life. He agrees to fight his enemies in two months. Before he goes to battle he summons the old men and women, and has them examine a pig's liver and gall. The omens are favorable. During the fight he becomes thirsty and his headaxe supplies him with water.

He stops the slaughter of his enemies when they agree to pay him one hundred valuable jars. The jars and heads of the slain take themselves to his home. A celebration is held over the heads, and skulls are exhibited around the town.

Aponitolau goes to return the switch of Aponibolinayen. They chew betel-nuts and tell their names. Their finger rings exchange themselves, while their betel quids turn to agate beads and arrange themselves in lines — a sign of relationship. He cooks a stick and it becomes a fish. The girl vanishes, but Aponitolau turns himself into a firefly and finds her. They remain together one night, then he departs. On his way home he is seized by an immense bird which carries him to an island guarded by crocodiles. He is forced to marry a woman also captured by the bird.

Aponibolinayen gives birth to a child called Kanag. Child is delivered when an itching spot on mother's little finger is pricked. Kanag is kept in ignorance of father's fate until informed by an old woman whom he has angered. He goes in search of his father. By using power of the betel-nut he is enabled to cross the water on the backs of sleeping crocodiles. He kills gigantic snakes and finally the bird which had carried away his father. He takes father and the captive woman back home. Both women claim Aponitolau as husband. A test is held and Aponibolinayen wins.

## 12

Pregnant woman expresses desire for fruit of *bolnay* tree. Her husband asks what it is she wishes, and she falsely tells him fish roe. He uses magic to catch all fish in the river, and selects one with roe, releases others. She throws it to the dogs, and tells husband it is the liver of a deer she needs. He secures it, but when it likewise is fed to the dogs, he changes self into an ant and hides near wife until he learns her real wish. He secures the *bolnay* fruit, but upon his return allows his sweethearts to get all but a small piece of it. His wife eats the bit left and desires more. She quarrels with husband, who in rage drags her to the *bolnay* tree and places her in a hole. Her child Kanag is born when an itching spot between her third and fourth fingers is pricked. Child grows with each bath. He agrees to go with other boys to fight. Plants a *lawed* vine which is to keep his mother informed as to his condition. Child's father is with war party, but does not recognize son. It rains continually so party cannot cook; but the spirit helpers of child's mother feed him, and he shares food with companions. They plan ambush near enemies' town. Kanag cuts off head of a pretty girl; his companions kill an old man and woman. They return home

and hold dance around the heads. When Kanag dances, earth trembles, coconuts fall, water from river enters the town, and the fish lap his feet. His father is jealous and cuts off his head. His mother sees *lawed* vine wilt and knows of son's death. Informs her husband he has killed son. She restores Kanag to life and they leave. Husband tries to follow, but magic growth of thorns in trail prevents. He is finally reconciled to his family and has former sweethearts killed.

### 13

A pregnant woman desires the fruit of an orange tree which belongs to the six-headed giant Gawigawen. Her husband asks her what it is she desires and she replies falsely; first, that she wishes a certain fruit, then fish roe, and finally deer liver. He secures each, taking the roe and liver out of the fish and deer without causing their death. Each of the articles makes the woman vomit, so her husband knows that she is not satisfied. Transforming self into a centipede he hides until he learns her real wish. Arms self and starts on perilous mission, but first plants *lawed* vine in house. By condition of vine wife is to know of his safety or death.

On way small dog bites him; he is tested by lightning and by thunder, and in each case gets a bad sign, but continues journey. Sails over ocean on his headaxe. Reaches cliff on which the town of the giant is placed, but is unable to scale it. Chief of spiders spins a web on which he climbs. Giant promises him the fruit provided he eats whole carabao. Chiefs of ants and flies calls their followers and eat animal for him. Is allowed to pick fruit, but branches of tree are sharp knives on which he is cut. He puts two of oranges on his spear and it flies away to his home. He dies and *lawed* vine at his house withers. Giant uses his skin to cover end of drum, puts his hair on roof of house and places his head at gate of town. Wife gives birth to child, which grows one span each time it is bathed. While still very small child angers old woman who tells him of his father's fate. Child determines to go in search of father despite mother's protests. On journey he meets all the tests put to his father, but always receives good signs. Jumps over cliff father had climbed on the spider web. He challenges giant to fight and shows valor by refusing to be the first to use his weapons. Giant unable to injure him, for he first becomes an ant, then vanishes. He throws his spear and it goes through giant, while his headaxe cuts off five of adversary's heads. Spares last head so it can tell him where to find his father. Collects father's body together and restores it to life. *Lawed* vine at their home revives. Father tries to cut off last head of giant, but fails; son succeeds easily. They send the headaxes to kill

all people in town. Slaughter is so great the father swims in blood, but son stands on it. Both return home and hold a great celebration over the heads.

The father's spittle is lapped up by a frog which becomes pregnant. Frog gives birth to baby girl which is carried away by *anitos*. Girl is taught to make *dawak* (the duties of a medium). Her half brother hears her, changes self into a bird and visits her in the sky. Is hidden in a caldron to keep *anitos* from eating him. Tries to persuade sister to return with him. She promises to go when their father celebrates *balaua*. The ceremony is held and girl attends. Is so beautiful all young men try to obtain her. They are so persistent that brother returns her to sky where she still lives and aids women who make *dawak*.

## 14

Aponitolau and his wife plant sugar cane, and by use of magic cause it to grow rapidly. The daughter of the big star sees the cane and desires to chew it. She goes with her companions and steals some of the cane, which they chew in the field. Aponitolau hides near by and sees stars fall into the cane patch. He observes one take off her dress and become a beautiful woman. He sits on her garment and refuses to give it up until they chew betel-nut together. The star girl falls in love with him and compels him to return with her to the sky. Five months later she has a child which comes out from space between her last two fingers. Aponitolau persuades her to allow him to visit the earth. He fails to return at agreed time, and stars are sent to fetch him. He returns to the sky, but visits the earth again, eight months later. Earth wife bears him a child and they celebrate *Sayang*. Sky child attends and later marries an earth maiden.

## 15

The wife of Aponitolau refuses to comb his hair; so he has another woman do it. She, in turn, refuses to cut betel-nut for him to chew. While doing it for himself he is cut on his headaxe. The blood flows up into the air, and does not cease until he vanishes. Ceremonies made for him are without avail.

Aponitolau finds himself up in the air country. He meets maiden who is real cause of his plight. They live together and have a child which grows every time it is bathed. Aponitolau takes boy down to earth to visit his half brother. While there the tears of the mother above fall on her son and hurt him. They celebrate *Sayang* and the sky mother attends. After it is over the half brothers marry earth girls.

## 16

Ayo gives birth to three little pigs. Husband is ashamed, and while wife is at the spring he places the animals in a basket and hangs it in a tree. Basket is found by old woman, Alokotán, who takes it home. Pigs soon turn into boys. When grown they go to court the girls while they spin. Ayo hears of their visits and goes where they are. Milk from her breasts goes to their mouths and thus proves her to be their mother.

They celebrate *balaua*. Ayo puts one grain of rice in each of twelve jars and they are at once filled with rice. Betel-nuts summon the people to attend the ceremony. The old woman Alokotán attends and the whole story of the children's birth and change to human form comes out.

## 17

Dumalawī makes love to his father's concubines who openly show their preference for the son. The father plans to do away with the youth. Gets him drunk and has storm carry him away. Dumalawī awakens in center of a large field. He causes betel trees to grow, then cuts the nuts into bits and scatters them on the ground. The pieces of nut become people who are his neighbors. He falls in love with daughter of one of these people and marries her. They celebrate *Sayang* and send out oiled betel-nuts to invite the guests. All guests, except Dumalawī's father, are carried across river on the back of a crocodile. Animal at first dives and refuses to carry him, but finally does so. All drink from a small jar which still remains a third full. Parents of Dumalawī pay the usual marriage price for girl, but her mother insists on more. Has spider spin web around the town, and groom's mother has to cover it with golden beads.

## 18

While two women are bathing, blood from their bodies is carried down stream. Two *alan* secure the drops of blood and place them in dishes. Each drop turns into a baby boy. Boys go to fight and kill many people at the spring. They challenge a ten-headed giant. He is unable to injure them, but their weapons kill him and his neighbors. Heads of the victors take themselves to homes of the boys. A storm transports the giant's house. Boys trample on town of the enemy and it becomes like the ocean. They use magic and reach home in an instant. Hold celebration over the heads. Some guests bring beautiful girls hidden in their belts. *Alan* tell history of lads and restore them to their people. One of boys falls in love and his parents negotiate match



for him. The payment for the girl is valuable things sufficient to fill *balaua* eighteen times, and other gifts in her new home.

## 19

Kanag is lead by his hunting dog to a small house in the jungle. Girl who lives there hides, but appears on second day. They chew betel-nuts and tell their names. The quids turn to agate beads and lie in order, showing them to be related and hence suitable for marriage. They remain in forest two years and have children. Kanag uses magical power and transfers their house to his home town during night. Children see sugar cane which they wish to chew. Kanag goes to secure it, and while away his mother visits his wife and abuses her. She becomes ill and dies. Kanag tries to kill his mother, but fails. Puts body of wife on a golden raft, places golden rooster on it and sets afloat on the river. Rooster crows and proclaims ownership whenever raft passes a village. Old woman Alokotán secures raft before it vanishes into the hole where river ends. Revives the girl. Kanag and children reach home of Alokotán, and girl is restored to them. They celebrate *balaua* and send betel-nuts covered with gold to invite relatives. When guests arrive, they chew betel-nut and learn that Kanag and his wife are cousins. Kanag's parents pay marriage price, which is the *balaua* filled nine times with jars. Girl's mother raises eyebrows and half of jars vanish. *Balaua* is again filled. Guests dance and feast. Part of marriage price given to guests.

## 20

Kanag's sweetheart desires the perfume of Baliwán and promises to fulfill his desires if he secures it for her. Gives him arm beads from left arm in token of her sincerity.

Kanag and a companion set out on mission but are warned, first by a jar and later by a frog, not to continue. They disregard the advice and go on. They reach the tree on which perfume grows, and Kanag climbs up and breaks off a branch. He turns into a great snake, and his companion flees. Snake appears to Langa-ayan and proves its identity by the arm beads around its neck. She takes it to a magic well, the waters of which cause the snake skin to peel off, and the boy is restored to his own form. Kanag marries Amau, and when they celebrate *balaua* he returns the bracelet to his former sweetheart. His parents fill the *balaua* nine times with valuable articles, in payment for his bride.

## 21

Kanag is sent to watch the mountain rice, although it is well protected from wild pigs. Thinks parents do not care for him, is despondent. Changes self into an omen bird and accompanies his father when he goes to fight. Father obeys signs and secures many heads from his enemies. He holds a great celebration over the heads, but Kanag refuses to attend. Decides to go down to earth to eat certain fruits. Parents order their spirit helpers to accompany him and dissuade him if possible. They show him a beautiful girl with whom he falls in love. He assumes human form and meets her. They chew betel-nut and tell their names. Signs are favorable for their marriage. His parents agree to fill the *balaua* nine times with various kinds of jars. They do so, but mother of girl raises eyebrows and half of jars vanish and have to be replaced. Girl's mother demands that golden beads be strung on a spider web which surrounds the town. This is done, but web does not break. Girl's mother hangs on thread which still holds. She then agrees to the marriage. Guests dance and then return home, each carrying some of the jars.

## 22

While Ligī is bathing in river his headband flies away and alights on the skirt of a maiden who is bathing further down stream. The girl carries the headband home and soon finds herself pregnant. The child is born when she has the space between her third and fourth fingers pricked. With each bath the child grows a span and soon becomes so active that he hinders mother at her work. She decides to put him with his father during daytime. Uses magic and causes people of the town to sleep while she places child beside father. Ligī awakes and finds child and his headband beside him. Child refuses to answer questions. Mother secures child at nightfall and repeats acts next day. Child is hidden, so she fails to get him. Ligī determines to learn who mother of child is; sends out oiled betel-nuts covered with gold to invite all people to a *Sayang*. When summoned, the mother refuses to go until a betel-nut grows on her knee and compels her. She goes disguised as a Negrito, but is recognized by the child who nurses from her while she is drunk. Ligī suspects her, and with a knife cuts off her black skin. Learns she is child's mother and marries her. He divorces his wife Aponibolinayen, who marries husband of Gimbagonan. The latter poisons her rival, but later restores her, when threatened by her husband.

## 23

A flock of birds offer to cut rice for Līgī. He agrees, and goes home with a headache. Birds use magic so that the rice cutters work alone, and the tying bands tie themselves around the bundles. The birds each take one grain of rice in payment. They use magic again so that bundles of rice take themselves to the town. Līgī invites them to a ceremony, and then follows them home. He sees them remove their feathers and become one girl. They go back to the celebration, where all chew betel-nut. Girl's quid goes to those of her parents, from whom she had been stolen by the spirit Kabonīyan. The parents of Līgī pay the usual marriage price for the girl.

## 24

When the husband of Dolimáman pricks an itching spot between her third and fourth fingers, a baby boy pops out. Child who is called Kanag grows each time he is bathed. While his wife is away the father puts child on a raft and sets it afloat on the river. Child is rescued by old woman Alokotán, who is making a pool in which sick and dead are restored to health. Boy plays on nose flute which tells him about his mother, but he does not understand. Plays on *bunkaka* with same result. Mother who is searching her child passes by while he is playing. Milk from her breasts goes to his mouth, and she recognizes him. They stay with old woman despite pleading of husband.

## 25

Awig sends his daughter to watch the mountain rice. She stays in a high watch house, but is found by tattooed Igorot, who cut her body in two and take her head. Father goes to seek her murderers, but first plants a *lawed* vine in the house; by its condition his wife is to know of his safety or death. He climbs high tree and looks in all directions. Sees Igorot, who are dancing around the head of his daughter. He takes juice from the poison tree and goes to the dance, where he is mistaken for a companion. He serves liquor to others and poisons them. Takes daughter's head and starts home. Is followed by four enemies. Uses magic and causes *cogon* field to burn, so foes are delayed. Repeats this several times and finally escapes. He joins head and body of his daughter, and old woman Alokotán puts saliva on cuts and revives her. Old woman places four sticks in the ground and they become a *balaua*. Betel-nuts are sent out to invite guests and many come. When the girl dances with her lover, the water comes up knee deep into the town and they have to stop. She is engaged and her lover's parents fill the

*balana* three times with valuable gifts, in payment for her. Half of gifts vanish, when her mother raises her eyebrows, and are replaced.

Her husband discovers the scar on her body where Igorot had cut her. Takes her to magic well where she bathes. Scars vanish.

## 26

The mother of Dumanágan negotiates marriage for her son with Aponibolinayen. Brother of girl puts her in his belt and carries her to place where agreement is made. When they reach gate of town, young girls offer them cakes, in order to take away bad signs seen on road. Boy's parents pay for girl and they marry. She gives birth to son named Asbinan. He marries Asigowan, but his jealous concubines cause her to cut her finger and she dies. Her body is placed in a *tabalang* on which a rooster sits, and is set afloat on the river. Crowing of the cock causes old woman Alokotán to rescue the corpse. She places it in her magic well and the girl is again alive and beautiful. She returns to her husband as a bird; is caught by him and then resumes own form.

## 27

Baby of four months hears his father tell of his youthful exploits. Decides to go on head hunt despite protests of parents. Is detained on his trip by young *alan* girls. Finally reaches Igorot town and by means of magic kills all the people and takes their heads. Heads take themselves to his home. On way back he plays bamboo jew's harp and it summons his brothers to come and see him. They chew betel-nut and make sure of relationship. Continuing his journey, he is twice lost. Finds an unknown sister hiding among *lawed* vines. Puts her in his belt and carries her home. Upon his arrival a celebration is held and the new found brothers and sister, who had been stolen by *alan*, are restored to parents.

## 28

The mother and caretaker of Asbinan try to arrange for him to marry Dawínisan, but are refused. Asbinan goes to the girl's home and feigns sickness. Is cared for by the girl, who becomes infatuated with him and accepts his suit. His parents pay jars and gold — in the shape of deer — for her.

## 29

Asbinan refuses to eat until his father secures fish roe. He then demands Chinese dishes from the coast town of Vigan. When these are supplied, he eats, and then demands the love charm which his father

used when a young man. He goes to the place where the maidens are spinning, and when one offers to give him a light for his pipe, he blows smoke in her face. The charm acts and she becomes ill. He convinces her people that the only way she can be cured is by marrying him. Her parents accept payment for the girl.

## 30

Tolagan decides to visit certain places in Pangasinan. He rides on a pinto pony and carries rice cakes as provisions. At the spring in Kaodanan he meets a beautiful maiden who warns him to return home, because the birds have given him a bad sign. He returns only to find that his wife has been stolen by the spirit Kabonīyan. He fails to find her, but is comforted by winning a new bride (probably the girl of Kaodanan).

## 31

Two girls are adopted by a rich man, who treats them as his daughters, except that he does not offer them bracelets or rings. They dress as men and go to see a jeweler. Two young men suspect and follow them, but they succeed in escaping and return home.

The spirit helpers of the youths take the forms of hawks and finally locate the maidens, whom they carry away. The youths plan to marry the girls and invite many friends to the celebration. Kanag and his companion attend, become enamored with the brides and steal them. Upon chewing betel-nuts they learn that they are related, so they are married.

## II

## 32

The Īpogau who are trying to celebrate *Sayang* make errors. The spirit Kadaklan and his wife instruct them to go and watch the *Sayang* at Sayau. They do as bidden and after learning all the details return home and perform the ceremony. The chief spirits are pleased and cause the lesser spirits to attend the ceremony when summoned by the medium. The sick improve.

## 33

The people who are conducting the *Dawak* ceremony fail to do it properly. Kabonīyan (a spirit) goes down and instructs them. After that they are able to cure the sick.

## 34

The spirits of Dadaya notice that their feather headdresses have lost their lustre. They place them on the house of some mortals, who at once become ill. The spirit Kabonīyan instructs them to make the *Pala-an* ceremony. They obey, the feathers regain their brightness and the people recover.

## 35

The father who is starting for a head-dance agrees to meet his wife and baby at sun down. When he reaches the agreed spot, he finds only their hats; he looks down and sees them in the ground. He tries in vain to get them out. The spirit Kabonīyan instructs him to perform the *Ībal* ceremony. He does so and receives his wife and child.

## 36

The spirit Ináwen, who lives in the sea, sends her servants to spread sickness. They kill many people who fail to make the *Sangásang* ceremony. A man is disturbed at night by barking of dogs, goes to door and meets a big spirit which has nine heads. Spirit tells him how to make the offering in *Sangásang*. He follows directions and spirits carry gift to their mistress. She mistakes the blood of a rooster for that of human beings. Is displeased with the taste and orders spirits to stop killing.

## 37

The spirit Maganáwan sends his servants to secure the blood of a rooster mixed with rice. People see many snakes and birds near gate of town. They make the ceremony *Sangásang* and offer blood and rice. The servants of Maganáwan carry the offering to him. He takes it in his mouth and spits it out, and in the same way the sickness is removed from the mortals.

## 38

The people who are digging holes for house poles get a bad sign from the omen bird. They abandon the place and dig again. The deer gives a bad sign, then the snake, then different birds. They change locations many times, but at last ignore the signs and complete the house. The family are continually in trouble and are ill.

The spirit Kabonīyan goes to see the sick persons; he lets his spear drop through the house, and then tells them the cause of the trouble is that they have failed to make *Sangásang*. He instructs them what to do, and when they obey all become well.

## 39

The different parts of the house quarrel and each insists on its importance. At last they recognize how necessary each one is for the other and cease their wrangling; then the people who live in the house are again in good health.

## 40

The great spirit sees the people of Bisau celebrating the *Ubaya* ceremony, and determines to reward them by increasing their worldly goods. He appears as a man and rewards them.

## 41

Dayapán, who has been ill for seven years, goes to bathe. The spirit Kabonīyan enters her body and instructs her how to perform healing ceremonies. He also teaches her how to plant and reap, and she in turn teaches the Tinguian. While she is bathing she ties a cock and dog by the water side. The dog eats the cock, and thus death comes into the world.

## 42

Girl who lacks certain organs is ashamed to marry. She is sent by her mother to cause lameness to people who pass. A man who falls victim to her magic is only cured when the girl instructs him how to make the *Bawī* ceremony.

## 43

The spirit Kabonīyan instructs a sick man to make offerings at the guardian stones. He does as bidden and becomes well. They perform ceremonies near the stones when they go to fight or celebrate *balaua*, and sometimes the spirit of the stones appears as a wild rooster, a white cock, or a white dog. A man who defiles the stones becomes crazy.

## 44

Man sees a woman walking at night near the guardian stones. She refuses to talk and he cuts her in the thigh. She vanishes into the stones. Next day it is seen that one of the stones is cut. Man dies.

## 45

The old men of Lagayan see peculiarly shaped stones traveling down the river, accompanied by a band of blackbirds. They catch the stones and carry them to the gate of the village, where they have since remained as guardians.

## 46

The spirit Ibwa visits a funeral and is given some of the juices, coming from the dead body, to drink. Since then he always tries to eat the body of the dead unless prevented. He is accompanied by another evil spirit whose embrace causes the living to die.

## 47

A widow leaves the town before the period of mourning for her husband is past. The spirit appears first to the daughter-in-law and is fed by her, then asks for his wife. He goes to the place where she is watching the corn and sleeps with her. She apparently becomes pregnant, but fails to be delivered, and dies.

## 48

Two men agree to hunt carabao the following morning. In the night one dies, but the other not knowing this leaves the town and goes to the appointed place. He meets the spirit of the dead man, and only saves his life by running his horse all the way home.

## 49

A man and his wife are living near to their field when the husband dies. An evil spirit comes to the door, but is driven away by the wife with a headaxe. Several evil spirits attempt to gain entrance; then the chief comes. He breaks down the door; he cuts off the dead man's ears and makes the woman chew them with him — like betel-nut. The signs are propitious. He changes the woman's two breasts into one, in the center of her chest, and takes her home.

## 50

A man, whose brother has just died, goes to hunt. He begins to cut up the game when his brother's spirit appears. He feeds it, but food comes out of its anus as fast as it eats. He flees and is pursued by the spirit until, by chance, he runs among *alangtin* bushes. The spirit dislikes the bush and leaves.

## 51

The people fail to put the *banal* vine and iron on the grave. An evil spirit notices the omission and steals the body.

## 52

A man goes to hunt his carabao in the mountains. He fails to plant branches at his head before he sleeps. A spirit expectorates on him, and he soon dies.



## 53

Two men who have to sleep in the mountains make beds of *sobosob* leaves. In the night they hear the evil spirits come and express a desire to get them. Spirits dislike the leaves, so do not molest the men.

## 54

Three hunters spend the night in the open. One covers himself with a red and yellow striped blanket. In the night two spirits come and think he is a little wild pig, and decide to eat him. The hunter hears them and exchanges blankets with one of his companions. The companion is eaten, and hence the *kambaya*, or striped blanket, is no longer used on the trail.

## 55

The spirit Bayon steals a beautiful girl and carries her to the sky, where he changes her breasts into one and marries her. She drops her rice pounder to the earth, and thus her people learn of her fate. Both she and her husband still attend certain ceremonies.

## 56

A hunter is carried away by a great bird. He is placed in the nest with its young and aids in feeding them. When they are large, he holds on to them, and jumps safely to the ground. He goes to fight against his enemies. While he is gone his wife dies. Upon his return he sees her spirit driving a cow and two pigs. He follows her to the spirit's town and is hidden in a rice bin. When spirits try to get him during the night, he repels them by throwing feathers. Feathers become exhausted, and he is forced to return home.

## 57

A man encounters a large being, which, from its odor, he recognizes as the spirit of a dead man. He runs to get his friends, and they find the spot trampled like a carabao wallow.

## 58

The dead wife of Baluga harvests his rice during the nighttime. He hides and captures her. They go together to the spirit town, in the ground, and secure her spirit which is kept in a green bamboo cup. As they are returning to the ground they are pursued, but Baluga cuts the vine on which their pursuers are climbing. When they reach home, they hold a great celebration.

## 59

An *alan* takes the afterbirth and causes it to become a real child named Sayen. Afterbirth child marries a servant, thinking he has married her mistress. Learns he is deceived, and causes death of his wife; then kills many people in the town of the girl who has deceived him. She gets him to desist, and after he revives some of the slain marries him. People of neighboring town are troubled by the *koman*, an evil spirit, who always causes the death of as many people as the hunters have secured deer. Sayen kills the *koman*. He fights with the great spirit Kaboniyan. Neither is able to overcome the other, so they become friends. They fight together against their enemies. Sayen often changes himself into a fish or chicken, and hides after a fight. This is observed by people who set a trap and capture him. He is killed.

## 60

A man while in the woods hears the *alan* near him. He feigns death and the spirits weep for him. They put gold and beads on the body. He springs up and seizes the offerings. They demand the return of one bead; he refuses, and the spirits burn his house.

## 61

Two men who have killed a wild pig desire fire. One goes to house of an *alan* and tries to secure it while the spirit sleeps. She awakes and goes with the man to the pig. Man carries liver of the animal back to the baby *alan*. He eats the liver and then throws the child into a caldron of hot water. He tells his companion what he has done, and they climb a tree near the water. The *alan* discovers their hiding place by seeing their reflection in the water. She climbs up, feet first, but they cut the vine on which she is ascending, and she is killed. They go to her house and secure a jar of beads and a jar of gold.

## 62

The flat earth is made by the spirit Kadaklan. He also makes the moon and sun, which chase each other through the sky. The moon sometimes nearly catches the sun, but becomes weary too soon. The stars are stones, the lightning a dog.

## 63

A flood covers the land. Fire has no place to go, so enters bamboo, stones and iron. It still lives there and can be driven out by those who know how.

## 64

A man finds his rice field disturbed even though well fenced in. He hides and in middle of night sees some big animals fly into it. He seizes one and cuts off its wings. The animal turns out to be a mare which is pregnant and soon has male offspring. The place where the wings once grew are still to be seen on the legs of all horses.

## 65

A lazy man, who is planting corn, constantly leans on his planting stick. It becomes a tail and he turns into a monkey.

## 66

A boy is too lazy to strip sugar cane for himself. His mother in anger tells him to stick it up his anus. He does so and becomes a monkey.

## 67

A lazy girl pretends she does not know how to spin. Her companions, in disgust, tell her to stick the spinning stick up her anus. She does so and at once changes into a monkey.

## 68

A war party are unable to cross a swollen river. They wish to become birds. Their wish is granted and they are changed to *kalau*, but they are not able to resume the human forms. Those who wore the white mourning bands, now have white heads.

## 69

A mother puts a basket over her lazy son. When she raises it a bird flies away crying "sigakók" (lazy).

## 70

A young man who owns a rice field gets a new wife. He leaves her to harvest the crop. She is discouraged over the prospect and wishes to become a bird. Her wish is fulfilled, and she becomes a *kakok*.

## 71

The dog of Ganoway chases a deer into a cave. The hunter follows and in the darkness brushes against shrubs which tinkle. He breaks off some branches. Cave opens again on the river bank, and he finds his dog and the dead deer at the entrance. He sees that fruits on the

branches he carries are agate beads. Returns, but fails to find more. His townspeople go with him to seek the wonderful tree, but part of the cave is closed by the spirit Kaboniyán who owns it.

## 72

The jar Magsawí formerly talked softly, but now is cracked and cannot be understood. In the first times the dogs of some hunters chased the jar and the men followed, thinking it to be a deer. The jar eluded them until a voice from the sky informed the pursuers how it might be caught. The blood of a pig was offered, as the voice directed, and the jar was captured.

## 73

The sun and moon fight. Sun throws sand in moon's face and makes the dark spots which are still visible.

## 74

A man who went with a war party is away so long that he does not recognize his daughter when he returns. He embraces her when she meets him at the town gate. In shame she changes herself into a coconut tree.

## 75

Two flying snakes once guarded the gap in the mountains by which the Abra river reaches the sea. Two brave men attack them with banana trunks. Their wings stick in the banana trees and they are easily killed. The men are rewarded with gold made in the shape of deer and horses.

## 76

A man named Tagápen, of Ilocos Norte, with his wife and child goes up the Abra river on a raft. They stop at various towns and Tagápen goes up to each while his wife comforts the child. They finally reached Patok where they go to live in the *balaua*. They remain there teaching the people many songs.

## III

## 77

A turtle and a monkey go to plant bananas. The turtle places his in the ground, but the monkey hangs his in a tree. Soon the tree of the turtle has ripe fruit, but the monkey has none. Turtle asks monkey to climb and secure the fruit. Monkey eats all but one banana,

then sleeps in the tree. Turtle plants sharp shells around the tree and then frightens monkey which falls and is killed. Turtle sells his flesh to other monkey and then chides them because they eat their kind. Monkeys catch turtle and threaten first to cut and then to burn him. He deceives them by showing them marks on his body. They tie weight to him and throw him into the water. He reappears with a fish. Monkeys try to imitate him and are drowned.

## 78

A turtle and lizard go to steal ginger. The lizard talks so loudly he attracts the attention of the owner. The turtle hides, but the lizard runs and is pursued by the man. The turtle enters the house and hides under a coconut shell. When the man sits on the shell the turtle calls. He cannot discover source of noise and thinks it comes from his testicles. He strikes these with a stone and dies. The turtle and the lizard see a bees' nest. The lizard hastens to get it and is stung. They see a bird snare and turtle claims it as the necklace of his father. Lizard runs to get it but is caught and killed.

## 79

A little bird calls many times for a boy to catch it. He snares it and places it in a jar. Lad's grandmother eats the bird. He discovers the theft, leaves home and gets a big stone to swallow him. The grandmother gets horses to kick the stone, carabao to hook it, and chickens to peck it, but without result. When thunder and her friends also fail, she goes home without her grandson.

## 80

A frog, which is attached to a hook, lures a fish so that it is caught.

## 81

The five fingers are brothers. The thumb goes to get bamboo. He tries to kiss the bamboo and his nose sticks. One by one the others go in search of the missing but are captured in the same manner. The little finger, which alone remains free, releases the others.

## 82

A carabao and a shell agree to race along the river. The carabao runs swiftly, then pauses to call "shell." Another shell replies and the carabao continues running. This is repeated many times until at last the carabao falls dead.

## 83

A crab and a shell go to get wood. The crab pulls the rope on his load so tightly that he breaks his big legs and dies. The shell finds his friend dead and cries until he belches his own body out of the shell and he dies.

## 84

A mosquito tells a man he would eat him were it not for his ears.

## 85

A messenger goes to negotiate a marriage. When he arrives he sees the people nodding their heads as they suck meat out of shells. He returns home without stating his mission, but reports an acceptance. Girl's people are surprised when people come for *pakálon*.

## 86

A man sees people eating bamboo shoots, and is told they are eating *pagaldanen*. He understands them to say *aldan* — "ladder," so he goes home and cooks his bamboo ladder. Is ridiculed by his friends.

## 87

A man with heavily laden horse asks the length of a certain trip. Boy replies, "If you go slowly, very soon; if you go fast, all day." The man hurries so that coconuts keep falling off the load and have to be replaced. It is dark when he arrives.

## 88

A woman eats the fruit belonging to crocodile and throws away the rind. Crocodile sees her tooth marks and recognizes the offender. He demands that she be given him to eat. Her people agree, but first feed him a hot iron. He swallows it and dies.

## 89

A lazy man goes to cut bamboo, and a cat steals his cooked rice. He catches the cat in a trap and takes it home. It becomes a fighting cock. The man starts for a cock fight, and on the way is joined by a crocodile, a deer, a mound of earth and a monkey. The rooster kills all the other birds at the fight, then the crocodile wins a diving contest, the deer a race, the mound of earth a wrestling match, and the monkey excels all in climbing. The man wins much money in wagers and buys a good house.

## 90

A spirit lets a man take his *poncho* which makes him invisible. He goes to his wife who recognizes his voice and thinks him dead. He takes off *poncho* and appears before her.

## 91

A fisherman is seized by a big bird which carries him to its nest. The small birds try to eat him, but he seizes one in each hand and jumps from the tree. He reaches the ground unhurt and returns home.